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ABSTRACT

Papers in this volume include the following: "Addressing Contextual Issues Relevant to Language Teaching in South Africa": Implications for Policy and Practice" (J. Keith Chick); "A Comparative Study of Compliment Responses: Korean Females in Korean Interactions and in English Interactions" (Chung-hye Han); "Can You Apologize Me? An Investigation of Speech Act Performance Among Non-Native Speakers of English" (Julian Linnell et al.); "Acquisition Policy Planning and Litigation: Language Planning in the Context of 'Y.S. v. School District of Philadelphia'" (Ellen E. Skilton); "'The Proper Way to Pray': Description of a Korean-American Youth Service Prayer" (Holly Stone); and "The Compelling Influence of Nonlinguistic Aims in Language Status Policy Planning in Puerto Rico" (Helen M. Strauch). (JL)

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From the Editors:

The purpose of Working Papers in Educational Linguistics (WPEL) is to present works in progress by students and professors on topics ranging from speech act analysis and classroom discourse to language planning and second language acquisition. Papers in WPEL are generally based on research carried out for courses offered in the Language in Education Division of the Graduate School of Education at the University of Pennsylvania.

It is our intention that WPEL will continue to be a forum for the exchange of ideas among scholars in the field of educational linguistics at the University of Pennsylvania and at universities with similar programs in educational and applied linguistics around the world. WPEL is sent to nearly one hundred universities world-wide.

We hope that you will find this issue both useful and stimulating.

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Addressing contextual issues relevant to language teaching in South Africa: Implications for policy and practice

J. Keith Chick
University of Natal, Urban

The widespread perception amongst advocates for learners from oppressed communities that linguists are incapable of addressing such issues as the unequal distribution of power in South Africa, or of making their discipline part of the process of democratic transformation is traced to the paucity of studies concerned with the role of language in the establishment, maintenance, and change of social relations of power. To illustrate the sort of research required, this paper focuses on studies of compliment giving and responding behaviour in the fields of ethnography of speaking and critical language study. It also traces the implications of a fuller understanding of the relationships between language and power for language education policy and practice for post-apartheid South Africa.

Introduction

Recent dramatic political events in South Africa such as the release from prison of political leaders, the unbanning of liberation movements, and the scrapping of such cornerstones of the apartheid system as the Group Areas Act and Population Registration Act, has led, amongst other things, to the critical scrutiny of most social structures and practices. As a linguist I have been challenged by the widespread perception amongst advocates for learners from oppressed communities that linguists are incapable of addressing such issues as the unequal distribution of power, or of making their discipline relevant to the needs of the oppressed peoples and part of the process of democratic transformation.

There are no doubt many reasons for the perception that linguists have little to contribute to the forging of a democratic, non-racial South Africa. One surely is "mainstream linguistics" focuses on abstract competence and largely ignores contextual factors. More important, I suspect, is that, even in the case of

sociolinguistics, which, by definition, is directly concerned with social context, there has been little research which concerns itself directly with the role of language in the establishment, maintenance, and change of social relations of power. As Fairclough observes, "sociolinguistics is strong on 'what' questions (what are the facts of variation) but weak on 'how' questions (why are the facts as they are?; how—in terms of the development of social relationships of power—was the existing sociolinguistic order brought into being?; how was it sustained?; and how might it be changed to the advantage of those who are dominated by it?) (1989:8).

There are a limited number of studies in the sub-fields of interactional sociolinguistics and the ethnography of speaking in which researchers have attempted to find answers to "how" questions. Indeed, in one of my own interactional sociolinguistic studies (Chick, 1985) I tried to explain how the structural circumstances of the apartheid society impact negatively upon the quality of communication in innumerable interethnic encounters, and how the consequences of miscommunication serve to maintain those structures. Since that study and its implications for language teaching are well documented (Chick 1985, 1986, 1989), I shall not dwell on it any further here. Instead, I shall focus on studies in the ethnography of speaking in which the researchers have also attempted to answer "how" questions. These are studies of compliment giving and responding behaviour. Since I find myself increasingly turning to critical linguistics for answers to "how" questions, I shall provide an account of some of the insights into the relationship between language and power from this source. I shall conclude by outlining what I see as some of the implications of a fuller understanding of the relationship between language and power for language education policy and practice for a post-apartheid South Africa.

Ethnography of speaking: The relationship between language and social relations of power

Within the sub-field of sociolinguistics termed ethnography of speaking the tendency to focus on "what" questions is evident, for example, in Wolfson's earlier work (1981, 1983). She reports on the forms, functions, and distribution of compliments within urban, middle-class American society, and on how these differ from patterns in other societies.

In Wolfson's later work (1988, 1989), however, she asks "how" questions. In other words, she moves beyond the recording of sociolinguistic facts to attempting, amongst other things, to find answers to questions about how social relations of power

are established and maintained. She finds that, although compliments are used mainly in that society to establish and re-affirm solidarity, they are also used to exercise power over others. This is because many compliments involve evaluations of appearance or performance. For example, her findings show that women in middle-class urban American society, irrespective of status, are frequent recipients of such social control by men. Whereas the deference accorded to high-status males places a strong constraint on "personal" comments by subordinates or strangers, there are no such constraints on speech to women of similar high status. As she puts it, "no matter what professional level a woman may attain, she is still treated as a woman" (1989:172). What this account suggests is that compliments are sometimes subtle and powerful mechanisms for exercising power, and, thereby establishing and maintaining asymmetrical power relations.

Other research in the field of ethnography of speaking which addresses questions of how social relations of power are established and maintained, is that of Herbert (Herbert,1985, 1989; Herbert & Straight, 1989). Herbert compares the compliment giving and responding behaviour of white, middle-class Americans at the University of New York at Binghamton and South Africans at the Witwatersrand campus. His data show that whereas Americans tend to give many compliments but accept few, South Africans tend to give few compliments but readily accept them. Herbert and Straight see the differences in these patterns of sociolinguistic behaviour as reflecting or being the outcome of the very different relations of power which obtain in and ideologies which pervade these two societies.

Herbert and Straight suggest that because social relations in the U.S. are relatively fluid, Americans are obliged to use strategies such as complimenting frequently in order to negotiate these relations. They suggest, further, that Americans frequently reject compliments in order to avoid the implication associated with acceptance, namely, that they are superior to their interlocutors. This behaviour they see as consistent with the ideology of egalitarian democracy which most Americans publicly espouse. By contrast, social relations in South Africa are, to a large extent, pre-determined. Middle-class South African whites, accordingly, give few compliments because solidarity with one's peers can be assumed and does not have to be negotiated. They very frequently accept compliments to keep non-equals at a distance by allowing compliments to imply that they are superior to their interlocutors. This behaviour Herbert and Straight see as consistent with the ideology of "institutionalised social inequality publicly enunciated in South Africa" (1989:43).

Herbert, like Wolfson, highlights the role of language in the exercise of power and, thereby, in the establishing and maintaining of the part of social structure concerned with relations of power. In other words, they show how what takes place at the micro-level of conversational interactions affects macro-levels of social organisation. Interestingly, their explanations point to an aspect of the functional ambiguity of compliments. Compliments are used to establish and re-affirm not only solidarity but also status (social relations of power). Moreover, whereas Wolfson shows that speakers may *claim* status for themselves in complimenting, Herbert shows that speakers may *attribute* status to others by the same means.

What neither Wolfson nor Herbert discuss, however, is the opposite side of the coin, namely, how changes at macro levels of social organisation impact upon sociolinguistic behaviour. This is the focus of my own most recent research on the University of Natal in Durban campus (Chick, 1991, 1992a). I have tried, amongst other things, to establish whether or not Herbert's findings are generalisable beyond the Witwatersrand campus, and whether the changed structural conditions associated with desegregation in South Africa has affected speech act performance. The Universities of Natal and the Witwatersrand, though located about 400 miles from one another, have, at least superficially, much in common. They are both English-medium universities. Both, moreover, may be distinguished from Afrikaans-medium and "ethnic" universities established in the apartheid era, by virtue of the advocacy (at least in public statements of their spokespersons) of a liberal educational ideology.

Over a period of three years (1989-91), I collected, with the help of my students, a corpus of compliment giving and responding sequences as they occurred naturally in conversations on campus. To facilitate comparison between Herbert's Witwatersrand corpus collected in 1981-82 and my own corpus collected in 1989-91, I replicated Herbert's methods of collection and analysis as far as possible. For example, I used the same coding system as Herbert. This is a system originally devised by Pomerantz (1978) and subsequently expanded and refined by Herbert. (Table 1).

My corpus includes the compliment giving and responding of members of a range of ethnic groups in inter- as well as intra-ethnic encounters. However, since what is relevant to the issue of generalisation of findings is compliment responses of whites, I shall report on those. Table 2 presents the results of the categorisation, counting and aggregating of compliment responses of whites at the Universities of New York, the Witwatersrand, and Natal.

Table 1:Compliment-response Types

Accepting			
1.	Appreciation token	C:	That's a great cake
		R:	Thank you
2.	Comment response	C:	You have such a nice house
		R:	It's given us a lot of pleasure
Deflating, deflecting, rejection			
3.	Reassignment	C:	You're really a skilled sailor
		R:	This boat virtually sails itself.
4.	Return	C:	You sound really good today.
		R:	I'm just following your lead.
5.	Qualification (agreeing)	C:	Your report came out very well.
		R:	But I need to redo some figures.
6.	Praise downgrade (disagreeing)	C:	Super chip shot.
		R:	It's gone rather high of the pin.
7.	Disagreement	C:	Your shirt is smashing.
		R:	Oh, it's far too loud.
Questioning, ignoring, reinterpreting			
8.	Question (query or challenge)	C:	That's a pretty sweater.
		R:	Do you really think so?
9.	Praise upgrade (often sarcastic)	C:	I really like this soup.
		R:	I'm a great cook.
10.	Comment history	C:	I love that suit.
		R:	I got it at Boscov's.
11.	No acknowledgement	C:	You're the nicest person.
		R:	Have you finished that essay yet?
12.	Request interpretation	C:	I like those pants
		R:	You can borrow them anytime.

Even a cursory examination of these findings will be sufficient to establish that the pattern of compliment responses for the Natal corpus resembles the pattern for the New York corpus more closely than that for the Witwatersrand corpus. Whereas only 23.7% responses in the Witwatersrand corpus involves saying something that can be interpreted as a rejection or partial rejection (i.e., 15.8 and 7.9), as many as 64.0% of responses in the Natal corpus fall into this category (i.e., 25.2 and 38.8). This is very close to the percentage for the New York corpus, namely 64.1% (i.e., 31.4 and 32.7).

Table 2: Distribution of compliment-responses

		New York		Witwatersrand		Natal	
		#	%	#	%	#	%
Accepting							
1.	Appreciation token	312	29.4	162	32.9	42	30.2
2.	Coment acceptance	70	6.6	213	43.2	8	5.8
			36.0		76.1		36.0
Deflating, deflecting, rejecting							
3.	Reassignment	32	3.0	23	4.7	3	2.2
4.	Return	77	7.3	12	3.4	0	0.0
5.	Qualification (agreeing)	70	6.6	12	2.4	10	7.2
6.	Praise downgrade (disagreeing)	106	10.0	0	0.0	7	5.0
7.	Disagreement	106	10.0	0	0.0	7	5.0
			31.4		15.8		25.2
Questioning, ignoring, reinterpreting							
8.	Question (query or challenge)	53	5.0	9	1.8	19	13.7
9.	Praise upgrade (often sarcastic)	4	0.4	2	0.2	5	3.6
10.	Comment history	205	19.3	24	4.9	12	8.6
11.	No acknowledgement	54	5.1	1	0.2	16	11.5
12.	Request interpretation	31	2.9	4	0.8	2	1.4
			32.7		7.9		38.8
	Totals	1062	100.1	492	99.8	139	100.0

What these findings suggest is that it is not possible to generalise Herbert's findings about the sociolinguistic norms of whites on the Witwatersrand campus to white, middle-class South Africans as a whole. Since no data is available for the Durban campus in 1981-82, it is not possible to exclude the possibility that the difference between the compliment responding behaviour on the two campuses represents regional variation. Herbert's report (personal communication) that the pattern of responses in a corpus he collected on the Witwatersrand campus in 1990 resembles more closely the pattern evident in my Natal corpus than that in the Witwatersrand corpus collected a decade earlier. This suggests that the data reflect, instead, change of norms of middle-class, English speaking South African whites over time. If what we have is historical change in norms, such change may be a response to structural changes in the wider society in general and tertiary educational institutions in particular, as a consequence of the waning influence of apartheid ideology.

One notable change in such institutions is de-segregation, the pace of which, in the case of the University of Natal, may be seen in Table 3.

Table 3: University of Natal student numbers by race categories employed in the apartheid era, 1983-1992

		1983	1986	1989	1992
AFRICAN	Number	542	1030	1714	2860
	% of total	5.53	8.93	13.20	19.75
"COLOURED"	Number	230	239	289	292
	% of total	2.35	2.07	2.23	2.02
INDIAN	Number	1100	1762	2258	3174
	% of total	11.22	15.27	17.39	21.92
WHITE	Number	7928	8509	8720	8156
	% of total	80.90	73.73	67.18	56.32
TOTAL	Number	9800	11540	12981	14482

Whereas these statistics apply to the University of Natal as a whole, that is both the Durban and Pietermaritzburg campuses, the compliment giving and responding sequences were collected on the Durban campus only. However, since the same policy of admission applies in both campuses, it provides a reliable indication of the pace of de-segregation on the Durban campus.

One can reasonably assume that the presence of significant numbers of black students on this campus would, of itself, have been a spur to white students to question conventional power relations and privileges. It has, moreover, given them greater exposure to the ideas and values associated with ideologies of liberation socialism which many black students espouse. It is perhaps significant that desegregation phase has co-incided with growing student demands for representation on university decision-making bodies, and the tendency to protest against anything that smacks of elitism. No doubt political instability and the decline of the economy, which characterised the 1980s, will also have served to undermine the unquestioning assumption of many whites that their high status will be an enduring feature of South African society. It may be, therefore, that what the putative historical change in the pattern of compliment responses on the University of Natal campus reflects is the greater uncertainty about social relations in that desegregating institution, and the

greater concern by whites to avoid the implication associated with acceptance, namely, that they are superior to their interlocutors.

In summary, Wolfson and Herbert show that certain sociolinguistic behaviours may be used to develop and maintain social relations of power. My study shows that sociolinguistic behaviours may change over time in response to uncertainty about social relations that results from rapid socio-political, economic, and demographic change. In search of further understanding of the relationships between action at the micro-level of social interaction and macro levels of social organisation, I turn to critical language study.

Critical language study and the relationship between language and social relations of power

Critical linguists see the formal properties of texts as the traces of the productive processes and as cues to the interpretative processes used by interlocutors as they engage in spoken and written discourse (Fairclough, 1989:24). They explain that these properties reflect the particular lexical and syntactic choices the interlocutors make as they produce texts which are exemplars of the discourse types associated with particular social institutions or domains within them. An example is the choices made in producing a text which is an exemplar of one or other of the discourse types associated with policing as a social institution: making an arrest; charging a suspect; interrogating a suspect; and so on. They explain, further, that the linguistic choices interlocutors make have implications for the relations of power that obtain not only between the interlocutors, but between groups of people in the institution and the society as a whole.

Central to their understanding of the relationship between ways of speaking and writing, and the social relations of power is the notion of ideological power. They use the word "ideology" not in the "neutral" or "descriptive" sense that I have used it in referring to apartheid and liberation socialism. Rather, they have a critical conception of ideology (Thompson, 1987). They argue that in modern societies power is exercised increasingly through consent rather than coercion, and that it is primarily through ideology that consent of oppressed peoples is accomplished. They view ideologies as "common sense assumptions" about relationships of power in societal institutions, and claim that the dominant ideologies of such institutions are implicit in the conventions of the discourse types associated with them. For example, they believe that the discourse conventions associated with medical consultations, such as

who has the rights and obligations to initiate the interaction, regulate turn-taking and so on, reflect the dominant ideologies of medicine as a social institution, i.e., they reflect the answers that power holders give to questions about the nature of the roles of doctor and patient, about what constitutes professional behaviour and so on. Moreover, these conventions serve to establish social roles (subject positions) for doctors and patients. In other words, it is only by complying with these conventions that the interlocutors can take on their role as patients and doctors. Power holders are able to exercise ideological power because they are usually well placed to project their own discourse conventions as the "right," "natural," or "universal" way of doing things, i.e., to make their conventions "stick." To the extent that members of subordinate groups uncritically accept the conventions of the power holders as "right" or "natural" or "common sense" ways of interacting, and behave accordingly, they sustain and legitimise the relations of power which underlie them.

The exercise of ideological power can be observed at a number of levels. As noted already, a particular group may gain and hold onto power by projecting particular discourse types or the conventions associated with these types as "natural" or "right" in certain domains. At higher levels, a group may accomplish the same ends by getting the status of its own dialect or language elevated so that it becomes the standard dialect, or national or official medium. The dominant group is able to build and consolidate its power by getting other groups to accept the use of its dialect or language in a wide range of domains. As Fairclough (1989) explains, power holders secure compliance by a number of means. They secure by means of *codification* (the reduction of variation within this dialect through dictionaries, grammars, and so forth). They secure it by means of *prescription* and *stigmatisation* of other social dialects, not only in terms of correctness of form, but in terms of their manners, morality, life style, and so on. Then, too, they secure it by means of the colonisation of the discourses of an ever wider range of social institutions, thus making competency in the standard dialect or language a pre-requisite for elevation to positions of power and influence.

Ethnographers of speaking like Wolfson and Herbert, show how asymmetrical relations of power may be established and maintained by sociolinguistic means. The unique contribution of critical linguists, though, is to the understanding of how, again through socioliguistic means, these relations may be changed to the advantage of those dominated by them.

They explain that while power holders always try to impose an ideological common sense which holds for everyone by getting their discourse types accepted as the "natural ones" in those situations, ideological homogeneity is never achieved.

Ideological diversity and struggle over discourse types is particularly evident in institutions and the wider society where social relations of power are fluid, as they are to an unprecedented extent in South Africa today. Since discourse conventions reflect ideological assumptions, the struggle for power takes place both through language and over language. This is very evident in feminist advocacy of particular discourse conventions such as gender-neutral terms of address. The group which is able to make the conventions associated with its preferred discourse type "stick" in a particular domain is able to establish and legitimise the social relations of power which underlie them.

The notion of ideological struggle provides a means of understanding more fully how the compliment giving and responding behaviour referred to in the first section of this paper may be used to establish and sustain asymmetrical social relations of power. Rephrasing Wolfson's explanation of how compliments are used by men to exercise power over women, one could say that in urban, middle-class American society a man of even relatively low status is able to position himself as someone who is able to evaluate the appearance or performance of a woman of relatively high status, and position her as someone subject to such evaluation, by complimenting her. He could, for example, say, "Nice sweater."

The positioning implicit in this compliment would be difficult for her to resist because the New York results suggest that the use of a token of any one of the twelve response types listed in Table 1 could be construed as compliance with this positioning. This would be especially the case if she chose what, in the New York data, is a high-frequency type, such as *comment history* (10): "My husband gave it to me."

Perhaps more important, the notion of ideological struggle suggests an explanation of how relations of power may be changed through this means. Critical language study reveals that no one is ever completely trapped by convention. Referring again to the Wolfson example, the woman in question could, for example, contest the implicit positioning by using what is a low-frequency choice in Herbert's New York data, namely, *praise upgrade:* "It's the height of fashion (sarcastic)."

She could contest this positioning more explicitly by using a token of the "question" (8) type of response, which challenges, not the sincerity of the complimenter, as in the example in Table 1, but the assumption that the speaker has the right to compliment her: "When did you become an authority on fashion?"

What this suggests is that the explanation I gave for the putative change in patterns of compliment responses on the University of Natal campus may be incomplete. While the change may, indeed, be a response to the sub-conscious

recognition by members of the dominant group that the choices of the past are no longer appropriate, it may also be the outcome of ideological struggle in a range of inter- and intra-cultural encounters on campus.

Ideological struggle also takes place about which dialects and languages are to be used in a range of public domains. It is significant that one of the recommendations which emerged from the 1990 Harare Workshop hosted by the African National Congress was that, if English is to be the major lingua franca in post-apartheid South Africa, it has to be made more accessible, and that documents, forms, and public proceedings should be written or conducted in a language understandable to ordinary people (Desai, 1990:27). This recommendation is a call for significantly different conventions in a range of discourse types associated with bureaucratic systems of institutions. The goal would be to ensure that discourse helps the oppressed to gain access to opportunities and resources rather than prevents them from doing so. The possibility of struggle at another level is alluded to by Heugh (1990). She claims that liberation movements are going to insist on a "democratised variety" of English as the spoken standard. This could be viewed as an early stage in the process of re-standardisation of English in the direction of an indigenous African variety of English.

To summarize, those involved in critical language study, like the sociolinguists whose research has been reviewed above, show that assumptions about social relations of power are implicit in conventional sociolinguistic behaviour/ discourse conventions. They show that groups are able to build and consolidate their power by projecting their conventions and the power relations implicit in them as natural. Most important, they show how change in social relations of power is accomplished by sociolinguistic means.

Implications for Language Education Policy and Practice

I now turn my attention to the implications of these insights into the relationship between language and social relations of power for language teaching policy and practice that might empower learners from oppressed communities in South Africa.

One way of empowering oppressed peoples in South Africa would be to make it possible for them to use their own languages and dialects for a wide range of purposes in government, education, science and technology, and the economy. I predict that one of the long-term objectives of official language policy will be the development and promotion of proficiency in indigenous languages so that they may serve as media in an ever widening range of public domains. However, for a number

of historical, economic and political reasons (Chick, 1992b), it is likely that, in the short term, English will be used as the primary medium in central government, in commerce and industry, and in post-primary education.

The obvious danger is that this policy may promote neo-colonialism by putting power in the hands of an English-speaking elite. To prevent this, the policy would need to be accompanied by practices designed to promote a high level of profiency in English amongst the mass of the population. What the research reviewed above suggests is that this can be achieved only if the focus of language instruction is communicative competence. In other words it will need to be concerned not merely with linguistic competence, but also with sociolinguistic and discourse competence. Indeed, as Wolfson explains, in some circumstances, linguistic competence on its own may be a disadvantage to those who possess it. This is because learners who speak grammatically are often held accountable for sociolinguistic violations in ways that less competent speakers are not, because they are "unconsciously assumed to be equally knowledgeable about the sociolinguistic rules of that community" (1989:49).

It is a matter of some controversy as to whether, in the light of the range of variability involved, the sociolinguistic and discourse components of communicative competence can be taught. For those who believe that description needs to precede materials construction there is the problem that, even in the case of English, which has been the focus of considerable sociolinguistic investigation[1] a comprehensive description of the discourse or sociolinguistic conventions of even a single speech community is not yet available. Account will need to be taken, also, of the fact that these conventions change, sometimes rapidly.

Fortunately, what is required is probably less emphasis on direct instruction about how to compliment, address people, or take turns appropriately, and more the development of sociolinguistic awareness. As Wolfson points out, what is at the root of most miscommunication between people of differing ethnic and linguistic backgrounds is not so much ignorance of sociolinguistic rules as ignorance of the very existence of sociolinguistic diversity (1989:15). People ignorant of sociolinguistic diversity tend to judge speech behaviour of people with differing rules of speaking, usually negatively, in terms of their own standards. This tendency, I suggest, can be countered by the development of learners' sociolinguistic or pragmatic awareness and of their lay abilities for pragmatic analysis. Bardovi-Harlig, Hartford, Mahan-Taylor, Morgan, and Reynolds (1991) provide suggestions as to how this might be accomplished.

However, to be truly empowering, practice needs to go beyond helping students to become aware of the conventions of the dominant discourses in a wide range of

institutions. They need, also, to become aware that many of these conventions reflect asymmetrical social relations of power, and that their compliance in interacting consistent with them serves to legitimize such conventions and maintain the power structures in those institutions. Such critical awareness could help them to be assertive, to contest and to disagree in situations where formerly their ignorance of the relationships between language and power, and their low status, as determined by the dominant discourse, would have encouraged them to be compliant.

It is such concerns that has led Pierce, for example, to challenge the apparent reasonableness of identifying communicative competence as the goal in English second language teaching in South Africa (1990:5). She points out that this begs the question of who is to determine what kind of communicative competence is appropriate for learners, or, whose conventions are to be made to stick? Such reasoning led the People's English Commission of the National Education Crisis Committee (NECC), which is affiliated with the African National Congress, to identify as the goal of second language teaching a wider definition of language competence than merely a knowledge of the rules of correct and appropriate use of English within South African society. It includes, according to NECC, "the ability to say and write what one means; to hear what is said and what is hidden; to defend one's point of view; to argue, to persuade, to negotiate; to create, to reflect, to invent; to explore relationships, personal, structural, political; to speak, read, and write with confidence; to make one's voice heard; to read print and resist it where necessary" (1987).

The materials that Janks (1991) has been developing together with teachers and learners suggest what sort of practice would foster the necessary *critical* awareness. Included in these materials, for example, is a module that is designed to help learners become aware of the ways in which writers use language to position their readers, i.e., constrain them to operate within the social role or subject position set up by the discourse conventions used. The abstract notion of social role or subject position is introduced gradually, firstly by an activity designed to demonstrate that "where we stand" literally "affects what we see." To demonstrate how critical study can be used to "denaturalise" conventions, learners are asked to examine maps used in Japan and Australia which challenge conventional ways of representing the world. They show these two countries in the centre of the world with Africa and Europe on the West and America in the Far East. This exercise is tied to another which examines the positive connotations in dominant discourse of "up" words such as "top," "high," and "boost" and negative connotations of "down" words such as "dropped" and "low." In this way learners become aware of the positioning implicit in the linguistic encodings

of living "down under" and in the "Far East." This is followed by exercises in which learners are asked to consider how age, gender, race, and so forth might affect a person's position on political, intellectual, and emotional issues. They are invited to role play competing siblings using language to win their mother over to their position. The learners, thereafter, are given the opportunity to discover how writers use language to position their readers by being provided with a number of texts to "de-construct," such as two accounts of the same battle, one from the point of view of the conqueror and one from the point of view of the conquered or underclass. Finally, they are asked to consider the naming of streets and public holidays from history, and the struggles which occur over whose history the names should be drawn from.

Conclusion

In this paper I have suggested that one of the principal reasons for the perceived irrelevance of linguistics to the democratic struggle in South Africa is the paucity of research concerned with the establishment, maintenance, and change in social relations of power, or as I have expressed it here, concerned with answering "how" questions. As an attempt less to argue for the relevance of the discipline than to identify for myself and others what it can contribute, I have reviewed studies which do attend to "how" questions, and have attempted to trace the implication of these studies for language policy and practice in South Africa. While the focus throughout has been on the South African situation, I trust that it will be possible to draw parallels with other situations.[2]

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[1] For studies of complimenting see Wolfson, 1981, 1983, 1988; Holmes & Brown, 1987. See Takahashi & Beebe's 1987 study of refusals. See Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson, 1974; Bennett, 1981; and Edelsky, 1981 on turn-taking conventions.

[2] An earlier version of this paper was presented in April 1992 at a conference on Linguistics and the Professions under the title of "A role for linguistics in addressing contextual issues relevant to second language teaching" and will be published in SPIL Plus. This paper was presented in November 1992 at the Educational Linguistics Fall Colloquium, University of Pennsylvania. I am grateful for a Fulbright African Senior Research Fellowship and a Centre for Science Development Senior Research Grant that made it possible for me to have uninterrupted time to do further reading, to analyse my data more closely, think through the argument I had started to develop in the earlier version, and re-write considerable parts of it.

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A comparative study of compliment responses: Korean females in Korean interactions and in English interactions

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The first part of this paper reviews previous literature on speech acts, compliments, and compliment responses. Previous research shows that the same speech act is very likely to be realized quite differently across cultures. The second part of the paper examines the compliment responses of Korean females in English interactions and in Korean interactions. The study found that Korean females responded differently when speaking in Korean or English; little evidence of pragmatic transfer was found.

Introduction

From many empirical studies conducted so far on speech acts, it is clear that the same speech act is very likely to be realized quite differently across different cultures. For example, Beebe, Takahashi and Uliss-Weltz (1985) show how Japanese and Americans differ in terms of order, frequency, and intrinsic content of semantic formulas when making refusals. Daikuhara (1986) shows how compliment response interactions of Japanese differ from that of Americans. Godard (1977) presents differences in French telephone interactions and American telephone interactions. Eisenstein and Bodman (unpublished) show how expressions of gratitude differ across cultures. All these empirical studies provide evidence that not knowing the sociolinguistic rules of the language being used may cause pragmatic failure. This in turn may cause miscommunication or communication breakdown.

The differences in sociolinguistic rules across cultures cause particular difficulty for second language learners. Even if the learner has developed the phonology, syntax, and semantics of the target language, serious miscommunication may occur if s/he hasn't acquired the knowledge of when to speak what to whom. Especially when

the learner has developed a certain level of linguistic competence in the target language, the native speakers of that language expect the learner to have also developed sociolinguistic competence. As a result, when learners make sociolinguistic errors, native speakers may not be as understanding as they are of linguistic errors.

Empirical studies which describe and compare the speech acts of various cultures are needed. These would increase our understanding of the norms of language use in other cultures and would help reduce instances of miscommunication which might occur in inter-cultural communication situations. Furthermore, the findings from these studies may also help materials developers and teachers of second languages to find effective ways to promote sociolinguistic competence in second language learners (Billmyer, Jakar & Lee, 1989; Billmyer, 1990b).

Research on Compliments

Definitions

Holmes defines a compliment as "a speech act which explicitly or implicitly attributes credit to someone other than the speaker, usually the person addressed, for some 'good' (possession, characteristic, skill, etc.) which is positively valued by the speaker and the hearer" (1988a:485). She also points out that even when a compliment appears to refer to a third person, it may well be indirectly complimenting the addressee. She provides this example:

> R's old school friend is visiting and comments on one of the children's manners.
>
> C(omplimenter): What a polite child!
> R(ecipient): Thank you. We do our best.

Since the utterance indirectly attributes credit to the addressee for good parenting, it can be interpreted as paying a compliment to the addressee (Holmes, 1988a:486).

Linguistic Patterns

In an empirical study of compliments of middle-class native speakers of American English, Manes and Wolfson showed that in American English, the syntax and lexicon of the great majority of compliments which had been uttered by various speakers in many different speech situations were remarkably similar. They found that three syntactic patterns accounted for almost all the data (1981:120-121):

NP is/looks (really) ADJ.	(e.g., "Your blouse is beautiful.")	(50%)
I (really) like/love NP.	(e.g., "I like your car.")	(16%)
PRO is (really) (a) ADJ NP.	(.e.g., "That's a nice wall hanging.")	(14%)

Manes and Wolfson (1981) also found that compliments of American English fall into two major categories: the adjectival and the verbal. More than two-thirds of the adjectival compliments make use of only five adjectives: nice, good, beautiful, pretty, and great. When a verb is used, the verbs "like" and "love" occur most frequently.

Manes and Wolfson (1981) argue that the very restricted set of syntax and lexicon suggests that compliments in society are formulas like greetings, thankings, and apologies. They assert that since the interlocutors in such interactions may come from very different social backgrounds, it is important that the forms that are used be recognized across social groups. Thus, the fact that compliments are like formulas contributes to the interaction in that it helps accelerate the understanding of the interlocutors.

Functions

Wolfson maintains that the major function of a compliment is "to create or maintain solidarity between interlocutors" by expressing admiration or approval (1983:89). Holmes essentially agrees with this view by treating compliments as "positively affective speech acts directed to the addressee which serve to increase or consolidate the solidarity between the speaker and addressee" (1988a:486).

However, compliments have other functions too. Wolfson points out that they are used to reinforce desired behavior, for example in a classroom situation. They often serve to strengthen or to replace other speech acts such as apologies, thankings, and greetings. They are also frequently used to soften criticism. Thus, compliments may be followed by "but" or "though," and a criticism. Compliments are also used to open a conversation and they may even be used as sarcasm, e.g., "You play a good game of tennis–for a woman." (Wolfson, 1983:86-93).

Holmes also noted that compliments may function as face threatening acts. They may imply that the complimenter would like to possess something, whether an object or skill, belonging to the addressee (1988a:487).

Topics

Manes and Wolfson (1981) found that compliments fall into two major categories with respect to topic: those having to do with appearance, and those which comment on ability. Holmes' study (1988a) on New Zealand compliments supported this. She asserted that her data "demonstrates that the vast majority of compliments refer to just a few broad topics: appearance, ability, or a good performance, possessions, and some aspect of personality, or friendliness" (496). The first two accounted for 81.3% of her data.

Social Distribution

Manes and Wolfson (1981) found that the majority of compliments are given to people of the same age and equal status as the speaker. They also found that a great majority of compliments are given by the person in the higher position in interactions between status unequals. The compliments from higher to lower status interlocutors were found to be twice as likely to be on the subject of the addressee's ability than on appearance or possessions. But when the speaker was of lower status than the addressee, the topic of the compliment was most likely to be on appearance or possession.

In interactions among females and males, Manes and Wolfson (1981) found that women appear both to give and receive compliments much more frequently than do men, especially when compliments have to do with apparel and appearance. Holmes explains possible reasons for this finding. Since "compliments express social approval, one expects more of them to be addressed 'downwards' as socializing devices, or directed to the socially insecure to build their confidence. The fact that women receive more compliments reflects women's socially subordinate status in society" (Holmes, 1988b:5). Furthermore, she asserts that women give and receive compliments more often because compliments serve as expressions of solidarity among women. However, males may not consider compliments the most appropriate way of expressing solidarity; as a result, they may not make use of compliments as often as do women (Holmes, 1988b:5-6).

Compliment Responses

Pomerantz was the first researcher to study the topic of compliment response. She claimed that two general maxims of speech behavior conflict with each other when responding to a compliment (1978:81-82). These conflicting maxims are "agree with the speaker" and "avoid self-praise." Recipients of compliments use various

solutions to solve this conflict, such as praise *downgrade* and *return*. Thus, although prescriptive norms of American speech behavior state that the appropriate response to a compliment is to say, "Thank you," speakers will often downgrade the compliment or return it to the complimenter (Herbert, 1986a:77). However, as Holmes points out, Pomerantz' studies are not quantitative. Holmes argues that although Pomerantz provides many examples of different types of compliment exchanges, she doesn't give precise proportions of each type of response (1988a:495).

Herbert (1986a) provides a quantitative analysis of compliment responses in American English. He distinguishes various types of compliment responses within three categories (Table 1).

Table 1: Compliment Response Types (Herbert, 1986a:80)

Agreement	Appreciation Token Comment Acceptance Praise Upgrade Comment History Reassignment Return
Non-agreement	Scale Down Question Disagreement Qualification No Acknowledgment
Other Interpretation	Request Interpretation

He found that the prescriptive norm responses (*appreciation token* and *comment acceptance* account for only 36%. Almost as many responses fell into the *non-agreement* and *request interpretations* categories. The results clearly show that what people actually say may be very different from the prescriptive norms of language usage (1986b:80).

Similar findings are provided by Holmes (1988a). Holmes believes that "a compliment not only makes a positive assertion, it attributes credit to the addressee in relation to that assertion" (492). Based on this assumption, she develops three categories of compliment responses (Table 2).

Holmes found that the most common New Zealand compliment response type was *accept*, which accounts for 61% of the total responses, and the next most frequent

response type was *shift credit*, which accounts for 29% of the total responses. Only 10% accounted for overt rejection of compliments (1988a:496).

Table 2: Compliment Response Types (Holmes, 1988a:495)

Accept	Appreciation/agreement token Agreeing utterance Downgrading/qualifying utterance Return compliment
Reject	Disagreeing utterance Questions accuracy Challenge sincerity
Deflect/Evade	Shift credit Informative comment Ignore Legitimate evasion Request reassurance/repetition

However, Daikuhara's (1986) findings were quite different. She studied compliment interactions in Japanese and compared the findings with the work of Manes and Wolfson on compliment interactions in American English. Her findings show that there are differences in the aspects of linguistic patterning, praised attributes, order of frequency, functions and responses. The largest difference was found between Japanese and American English compliment responses. Ninety-five percent of all compliment responses fell into what Pomerantz (1965) called "self-praise avoidance," while only 5% fell into what she called "appreciation." The Japanese used various strategies to avoid self-praise. The most frequent responses were "No, no," or, "That's not true," which accounted for 35% of this category. The second most frequent response was a smile or no response at all, accounting for 27%. The third was, "You think so?" which accounted for 13%. These three responses constituted 72% of the total responses (Daikuhara, 1986:119-120).

Daikuhara states that a common function of giving compliments in Japanese is to show deference or respect, which seems to create a distance between the interlocutors. Therefore, the distance created by the person who compliments an interlocutor has to be denied by the recipient. This denial by the recipient serves to sustain harmony between the interlocutors and to emphasize their commonality (1986:127). In contrast, the main function of compliments in American English is to create and maintain solidarity and affirm common ground between interlocutors. This

may be the reason why the majority of compliment responses by Americans take the form of appreciation or agreement.

The Study

The purpose of the present study is to examine compliment responses of Korean females in English interactions and in Korean interactions. The following questions guided the research:

1. What are the major compliment responses of Korean females in Korean interactions?
2. What are the major compliment responses of Korean females in English interactions?
3. Is there evidence of pragmatic transfer from Korean to English?

Based on the research mentioned above (Godard, 1977; Beebe, Takahashi & Uliss-Weltz, 1985; Daikuhara, 1986; Eisenstein & Bodman, unpublished), it seems likely that Korean female speakers will respond differently when speaking Korean or English. Therefore, the hypothesis is that the compliment responses of Korean females will differ according to the language they are using, and that there will be evidence of pragmatic transfer.

Subjects

Ten Korean female students and eight American female students attending University of Pennsylvania participated in this study. In addition, two American females living in the area of the University of Pennsylvania participated. Of the students, 15 are graduate students and three are undergraduate students. Their ages range from 21 to 29. Status between the interlocutors can be considered to be equal. The Korean female participants in this study speak Korean as their first language, and they have spent at least a year in the U.S. Their English level is advanced enough to pursue their studies in the U.S. without any serious language problem. By using only female students, the influence of gender difference was not considered in the present study.

Data Collection

Fieldnotes and interviews were used to collect the compliment responses of the Korean participants in Korean interactions and in English interactions. Twenty tokens from each situation were considered. The tokens from Korean interactions were

translated into English as accurately as possible. Records of the interlocutors' ages and the contexts in which the interaction occurred were kept. Most interactions took place between status equals in informal contexts, such as in a cafeteria, restaurant, library, classroom, and at home.

After all the data had been collected, participants were interviewed about the responses in each situation. These answers were referred to when analyzing the findings.

Data Analysis

The response types were categorized based on Holmes' (1988a). The frequency of occurrence for each type was quantified, then the results of Korean interactions and those of English interactions were compared.

Findings

Sharp differences were found in the frequency of occurrence of response types used by Korean females in Korean interactions and in English interactions. In Korean interactions, the participants' most common response to compliments was to reject them, accounting for 45% of the total responses. The next most frequent response was to deflect or evade the compliment, accounting for 35% of the total responses. The least frequent response was to accept, accounting for 20% of the total responses. The frequency of occurrence for each response types is summarized in Table 3.

Among the subcategories of the *reject* category, *disagree* occurred most frequently, accounting for 35% of the total responses. This means that one out of three compliment responses of Korean females is likely to belong to the *disagree* type.

> A is a 25 year-old Korean; B is a 24 year-old Korean. They are both female graduate students. The conversation took place at B's house.
>
> A: Neo murry olinika yiepuda.
> (You look pretty with your hair up like that.)
> B: Yiepugin. Nilgeoboiji.
> (No. I look like an old woman.)

Among the subcategories of the *deflect/evade* category *request reassurance/ repetition* occurred most frequently, accounting for 25% of the total responses.

A is a 24 year-old Korean; B is a 29 year-old Korean. They are both female graduate students. B was wearing a new dress.

A:Ku dress jungmal yiepuda. Neomu jal eouliuyo.
(Your dress is so pretty. It looks very nice on you.)
B: Kureiyo?
(Really?)

Table 3: Compliment Response Types According to Language Used

Types	Korean #	Korean %	English #	English %
Accept				
Appreciation			12	60
Agreement				
Downgrading	4	20	2	10
Return			1	5
Subtotal	4	20	15	75
Reject				
Disagree	7	35	3	15
Question Accuracy				
Challenge Sincerity	2	10	1	5
Subtotal	9	45	4	20
Deflect/Evade				
Shift Credit				
Informative Comment	1	5	1	5
Ignore				
Legitimate Evasion	1	5		
Request Reassurance/		25		
Repetition	5			
Subtotal	7	35	1	5

Among the subcategories of the *accept* category, only *downgrading* occurred, accounting for 20% of the total responses.

A and B are both 24 year-old Korean female graduate students. The conversation took place at the library.

A: Kongbu cham yiulshimie hashineiyo.
(You study very hard.)
B: Chunun murryga napunikayo.
(That's because I am not smart.)

Although there were a few instances of compliment responses belonging to the *accept* category, they were all in the form of *downgrading*, shown above. There were

no instances of appreciation or agreement, which are considered to be the prescriptive norm of Americans when responding to compliments (Herbert, 1986a:77).

In English, the most frequent response to compliments was to accept them, accounting for 75% of the total responses. The next most frequent response was to reject them, accounting for 20% of the total responses. Only one instance of deflection or evasion of compliments was found in the English data.

Among the subcategories of the *accept* category, the most frequent type was *appreciation*.

> A is an American female in her late twenties; B is a 25 year-old Korean female. They are both graduate students, and they are classmates. The conversation took place at school.
>
> A: I like your necklace. It's beautiful.
> B: Thanks.

This type accounts for 60% of the total responses. This is much higher than the 15.3% of the Holmes' studies on New Zealand compliment responses (1988a:495), and the 29.38% in Herbert's study on American compliment responses (1986a:80). This means that Korean females are much more likely to follow prescriptive norms of compliment responses of native English speakers when they are engaged in English interactions.

Among the subcategories of the *reject* category, *disagree* occurred most frequently.

> A is an American female in her mid-twenties; B is 24 year-old Korean female. They are both graduate students, and they are classmates. The conversation took place at the department office.
>
> A: Your English is so perfect. You don't make the mistakes that nonnative speakers usually make.
> B: No, it's not good enough.

These accounted for 15% of the total responses. This is a little higher than the 6.7% of New Zealand compliment responses in Holmes' (1988a) study, and the 9.8% of American compliment responses in Herbert's (1986a) study. The relatively high occurrence of *disagree* in my study may be due to a pragmatic transfer of Korean sociolinguistic rules to English speech behavior.

Discussion

As the results of the present study show, there is a very sharp difference in compliment responses of Korean females depending on the language they are using: Korean or English. When the subjects are participating in Korean interactions, they are most likely to disagree with compliments. Not one instance of *appreciation* was found in the Korean data. The subjects never uttered "Thanks" or "Thank you." Even if the compliments were accepted, all of the acceptances were in the form of a *downgrade*. However, in English interactions, the Korean participants were most likely to accept compliments with responses such as "Thanks" or "Thank you." Even when the participants intentions were to downgrade the compliment, they almost always added "Thanks" or "Thank you."

> A is an American female in her early twenties; B is a 24 year-old Korean female. They are both graduate students, and they are classmates. The conversation took place while they were going to class.
>
> A: Did you get a haircut?
> B: Yeah.
> A: I looks so cute.
> B: Thanks. But I think it's too short.

In this compliment interaction, B thanks A before starting to downgrade herself. This was categorized as a *downgrade* since that was the overall intent.

There was only one instance of *deflect* in my data; it was in the form of an informative comment. Even in this instance, the participant thanked the complimenter before making the comment.

> A is an American female working at a department office; B is a 24 year-old Korean female doing her graduate studies. The conversation took place at the department office.
>
> A: Can I see your ring? It's gorgeous!
> B: Thanks. It's my class ring.

In this interaction, B thanks A before commenting on the history of the ring. However, since the illocutionary force of the example was to evade the compliment by giving an informative comment, it was categorized as *informative comment.*

An interesting point is that "Really?" was uttered by the subjects in both Korean interactions and English interactions. While it was always accompanied by "Thank you" or "Thanks" in English interactions, it was used by itself in Korean interactions.

English interaction

A is an American female in her twenties; B is a 28 year-old Korean female. They are both graduate students, and they are classmates. The conversation took place at school.

A: I love your outfit.
B: Really? Thanks.

Korean interaction

A and B are both 24 year-old Korean females. They are both graduate students. The conversation took place when A and B were going to the library.

A: Neo murry punika yiepuda.
(You look very pretty with your hair down.)
B: Jungmalyiya?
(Really?)

The difference between the two interactions is that the addressee in the second example expects reassurance or repetition of the compliment, while the addressee in the first example doesn't expect either. It seems that "Really" was almost unconsciously uttered before accepting the compliment. Therefore, I categorized the response as *appreciation* in the first interaction, but as *request reassurance/repetition* in the second interaction.

Based on my interviews, I also found a few instances where the participants showed surprise at receiving compliments. These all occurred in English-speaking situations. When the participants didn't feel that their appearance was at its best but they received a compliment from an American, they were quite confounded. Even in these situations, they said, "Thanks" or "Thank you."

A is an American female in her late twenties; B is a 26 year-old Korean female. They are both graduate students, and they are classmates. The conversation took place at school.

A: You look so fashionable today.
B: (surprised) Oh, do I? Thank you.

A is an American female in her late twenties; B is a 24 year-old Korean female. They are both graduate students, and they are classmates. The conversation took place just before the class started.

A: Is that a new blouse?
B: Yeah.
A: That looks so nice on you.
B: (surprised) Oh, you think so? Thanks.

The only sign of pragmatic transfer in my data occurred in the *disagree* response type. This was used much more frequently than by New Zealanders in Holmes' study (1988a) or by Americans in Herbert's study (1986a). However, use of this response type didn't cause any noticeable miscommunication. This is probably because the *disagree* response type is not uncommon among Americans: Herbert's study on American compliment responses shows that disagreeing accounts for 9.98% of the total responses.

In terms of other categories, there was a noticeable lack of pragmatic transfer. The Koreans are likely to reject or deflect compliments in order to avoid self-praise in Korean interactions. When receiving a compliment, a Korean would rather put herself down than accept the compliment. Then why did the Korean participants accept compliments in English interactions? I interviewed the participants and found three possible reasons.

First, the lack of pragmatic transfer may be due to the fact that the participants have acquired the norms of the speech community in which they are residing. They have been in the United States at least one year, and they are constantly interacting with Americans in and out of class. This may have resulted in the acquisition of the sociolinguistic rules of the host culture.

Second, the participants may have been influenced by the textbooks that they used when they were learning English in Korea. Almost all English text books used in Korean schools prescribe "Thank you" as the only correct way to respond to a compliment.

Third, Korean participants' stereotypes of Americans may have influenced their interactions. According to interview data, the participants feel that Americans are direct and frank. The Korean participants believed that Americans always accept compliments upon receiving them, although actual studies found that Americans deflect or evade compliments as much as they accept them (Herbert, 1986a). The Korean participants also believe that the most appropriate way to interact with Americans is to behave like them. Therefore, the Korean participants almost always accepted the compliments they received from Americans.

Conclusion

Korean females are most likely to accept compliments in English interactions and reject or deflect compliments in Korean interactions. The only sign of pragmatic

transfer was found in the *disagree* type in the *reject* category. However, this didn't lead to miscommunication.

Due to the limited amount of data and range of participants, generalizing to all Koreans in English interactions would be inappropriate. Furthermore, the scope of the present study is very narrow. A more extensive study which includes forms, functions, and topics of compliments of Koreans, their frequency of occurrence, and gender differences reflected in compliment interaction would be useful.

Compliment responses may be problematic for learners of English as a second language. The participants in this study used "Thanks" or "Thank you" when responding to compliments in English. This response may be appropriate, but studies show that an unadorned "thanks" may unintentionally limit or even end an interaction between status equals, and deflecting compliments may serve to extend the interaction between interlocutors, which may lead to interlanguage development (Billmyer, Jakar, & Lee, 1989:17). Instructing second language learners to say only "Thank you" when receiving a compliment is not sufficient. A textbook or a teacher should also offer some strategies that may help learners engage in more elaborate interactions with the native speakers of the target language (Billmyer, 1990a).

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Can you apologize me? An investigation of speech act performance among non-native speakers of English

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In this study the performance of apologies among 20 non-native speakers (NNSs) of English and 20 native speakers (NSs) of English was examined. Two questions were addressed: How did NNSs' apologies compare with NSs' in identical situations? What relationship existed between the performance of apologies by NNSs and TOEFL scores? Eight verbal discourse completion tests designed by Cohen and Olshtain were administered by the researchers to the participants on a one-to-one basis. Each response was taped, transcribed, coded and analyzed (both quantitatively and qualitatively) by the researchers. No significant differences were found between NNSs and NSs in six out of eight situations. According to NS norms, explicit apologies, acknowledgments and intensifiers were significantly undersupplied by NNSs in two of the situations. No linear relationship was found to exist between TOEFL scores and the performance of apologies by NNSs.

Introduction

It is only recently that empirical work in sociolinguistics has begun to research the effect of instruction on speech act acquisition (Billmyer, 1990). Studies on the effect of teaching compliments, for example, seem to show that there may be a shortcut to learning sociolinguistic rules of the target language–shorter than just mingling in the target culture (Olshtain & Cohen, 1985). However, this is an underdeveloped area of research and, as yet, researchers have little evidence for the effect of instruction on the acquisition of other speech acts.

Following Hymes' (1962) original conceptualization of communicative competence, Olshtain and Cohen (1983) have defined sociolinguistic competence as referring to:

> ...the speakers' ability to determine the pragmatic appropriateness of a particular speech act in a given context. At the production level, it involves the selection of one of several grammatically acceptable forms according to the...formality of the situation and of the available forms (33).

As Wolfson (1989) points out, Hymes did not intend for there to be a dichotomy between grammatical and sociolinguistic competence. He stressed the need to include sociolinguistic rules in the analysis of a language rather than limiting the discussion of a language to grammatical rules. It is necessary to know both the rules of grammar and the rules of use to have competence within a particular speech community. Canale and Swain (1980:28) attempted to clarify what was meant by communicative competence in their theoretical framework for communicative competence by including grammatical, sociolinguistic, strategic, and discourse competence.[1]

Anecdotal evidence has shown that many adult language learners come away from an exchange with native speakers (NSs) certain that they have used the "right words," but their intentions or motives have been misjudged. Native speakers, as well, often come away from these exchanges believing the non-native speakers (NNSs) to be "rude" or "slow" or "difficult." Often this type of thinking produces or reinforces existing cultural stereotypes, encouraging racism and discrimination (Erickson, 1974; Gumperz, 1978; Scollon & Scollon, 1983).

It is important for educators to have access to research that addresses when a learner can be expected to understand and to learn the rules for appropriate speech act behaviors. Research in this area is needed for the development of materials and curricula that reflect the research on acquisition of speech acts. Most materials for English as a Second Language (ESL) teaching are developed without an empirical basis (Billmyer, Jakar & Lee, 1987), although there are exceptions to this rule.[2] ESL textbooks that have been developed using empirical data cannot address the issue of a possible developmental sequence for speech acts because the necessary research has not yet been conducted.

Learning to apologize appropriately is an important part of being communicatively competent within a speech community. NNSs frequently break cultural rules and face the embarrassment of miscommunication. Apologies offer an opportunity to save face in a threatening or difficult circumstance. The focus of this study is the performance of a particular speech act set–apology–by NNSs. This speech act was selected because of the attention it has received in the literature. Studies of apologies in Israel (Cohen & Olshtain, 1981; Olshtain & Cohen, 1983), as well as Wolfson, Marmor, and Jones' (1989) research on the performance of apologies across cultures have provided an empirical basis for describing apologies. An apology is the speech act used when a behavioral norm is broken. According to Olshtain, "When an action or utterance (or lack thereof) results in the fact that one or more

persons perceive themselves as offended, the culpable party(s) needs to apologize" (1983:235). Searle also asserts that both parties must recognize the offense and the need for repair (1976:4).

Some of the questions guiding this study were:

(1) How do NNSs' performance of apologies compare to NSs' norms; and,

(2) Do levels of proficiency as determined by TOEFL scores correspond to the performance of apologies among NNSs?

Apology Studies

Edmondson (1981) considered apologies in his discussion of conversational routines and their locutionary, illocutionary and interactional significance. Coulmas (1981) contrasted thanks and apologies in several European languages[3] and Japanese in order to reveal "certain typological relationships between them" and to show that the "values and norms of a given speech community have a bearing on whether or not [thanks and apologies] are considered as being related activities" (1981:69). Fraser analyzed the components of apologies–"those which must obtain for the act to come off" (1981:259)–and found ten different strategies for apologizing.[4] He claimed a corpus of "several hundred examples of apologizing" collected through "personal experience, participant observation, responses of role playing, and from reports provided by friends and colleagues" and presented "what appear to be clear trends" while not providing any statistical support for the conclusions (266).[5] Fraser considered the severity of the infraction, the nature of the infraction, the situation in which the infraction occurred, the relative familiarity between the interactants, and the sex of the apologizer as factors in the type of apology uttered. Borkin and Reinhart (1978) clarified a distinction between the formulae "Excuse me" and "I'm sorry,"[6] and offered a TESL unit to help explain the difference to non-native speakers of English.

Holmes (1989) used an ethnographic approach to collect data. She discussed a distributional pattern for the use of apologies by women and men as a step in illuminating the sociocultural values of a speech community. Her article also provided a classification of the strategies used. Trosborg (1987) used role plays to elicit her corpus of apologies. She identified seven strategies and compared their uses by native speakers of English and non-native speakers of English whose first language was Dutch. Finally, Cohen and Olshtain attempted to develop a measure of sociocultural competence with regard to the apology (1981) and to account for

language transfer in the development of sociocultural competence in a second language (Olshtain & Cohen, 1983).

One of the goals of this study was to go beyond the current research by adding a cross-cultural study that did not focus on language transfer, but on the patterns of use of apologies by non-native speakers from a variety of language backgrounds. We also wanted to see if the levels of grammatical proficiency (as indicated by TOEFL scores) related to levels of sociolinguistic performance (as compared to NS norms in the identical situations); we assumed there would be no relationship.

The Study

Participants

The participants for this research were 20 NSs and 20 NNSs in Philadelphia. There were 10 male and 10 female NSs while there were 9 male and 11 female NNSs–all 40 of them were between 18 and 50 in age.[7] The first language backgrounds of the NNSs included Russian, Chinese, Japanese, Spanish, Swedish, and Thai. All NNSs were students in the English Language Program (ELP) in the University of Pennsylvania.[8] The criteria used for selecting participants for the study was that they all were affiliated with a university in Philadelphia. The NSs were acquaintances and friends of the researchers who volunteered to take part in the study. The researchers included two females from the USA, one male from Britain, and one male from Taiwan (a NNS). The researchers were graduate students at the time of the study and had considerable professional experience in the teaching of English as second language.

At the time of this study, the NNSs had been in the United States for a period ranging from two weeks to six years. In general, they reported using English rarely with NSs previously in their own countries or here in the United States. NNSs volunteered to participate in the study. They were told that it was an opportunity to practice their spoken English. NNSs volunteered from all levels at ELP except the lowest level class.[9]

Data Collection

NNS data were collected in ELP classrooms at the University of Pennsylvania. The researchers first introduced themselves to the participants, explained the requirements of the activity, and then proceeded with the taping. NS data were

collected in the office of one of the researchers at Drexel University in Philadelphia and in a few of the researchers' homes.

Apologies are difficult to collect naturalistically without extensive ethnographic data collection. Cohen and Olshtain (1981) elicited data through the use of role plays based on Discourse Completion Tests (DCTs). They attempted to set up norms of usage in several languages in order to compare the use of apologies in the second language–English. A modified version of Cohen and Olshtain's DCTs was used for data collection in this study. Situations were presented verbally, rather than in writing. The instrument we used required a verbal response but was not necessarily interactional since there was no response and no negotiation. Since DCTs are by definition written and role plays are generally interactional, we use the term "verbal DCT" to describe the instrument.

A total of 13 situations were included, eight requiring an apology (Appendix A) plus five distractors requiring a request. These were written up on cards and re-shuffled for each participant to avoid ordering bias. Each participant met with one of the four researchers who explained the situation and read the initial part of the exchange. The participants were then expected to supply a "free" response. The participants did not see the written explanation of the situation but were allowed to ask questions about words they did not understand. There was no opportunity for participants to practice their replies. They were instructed to respond as if interacting with an anonymous person. The researchers did not respond to the participants' replies. The following excerpt (Table1) illustrates how the verbal DCT was conducted.

Table 1: Administration of Verbal DCT

Researcher:	You bump into, do you know bump into? run into?
NNS:	uh-huh
Researcher:	You bump into an older lady in a store you couldn't help it because she was in your way she was she was in your way
NNS:	uh-hm
Researcher:	uh but you still feel like you owe her some kind of apology she says "Oh my!" What would you say to her?
NNS:	sorry
Researcher:	ok

Participants met with one of the researchers in separate classrooms. Sessions took 20-30 minutes to complete. Each participants completed the 13 verbal DCTs during one session. Interactions were audiotaped, then the audiotapes were transcribed. The transcripts were coded and analyzed. Coding (Table 2) was done using a revised version of Holmes (1989). One semantic formula was modified (3) and four were added (6,7,8,9) .

Table 2: Coding Scheme

	Coding Categories	Possible Realizations (Formulae)
1.	Explicit Apologies	I apologize; I'm sorry; Excuse me
2.	Explanations	The bus was late
3.	Acknowledgement of Responsibility	It was my fault; I was confused; You're right; I didn't mean to
4.	Offer of Repair (Physical/Relational)	Can you give me one more chance? Let me help you up
5.	Promise of Forbearance	I won't let it happen again
6.	No Acknowledgement	Silence; I don't know what to say; You are to blame
7.	Advice for the Future	Next time take care[10]
8.	Intensifier	very...
9.	Pre-Modifiers	Oh...

Using the revised coding scheme, all four researchers individually coded their own corpus. Then they coded each other's. Where there was disagreement, the final coding was decided through discussion until a consensus was reached. The coding was tallied for each of the 20 NSs and 20 NNSs for each situation. Then the mean frequency of the group of NSs was compared to that of the NNSs using a two-tailed T-test to see if any significant differences existed. In those situations where formulae were significantly different between the NS group and the NNS group, we made a further examination of the NNS data to ascertain whether there were patterns of variation within the NNS group and how these corresponded with the TOEFL scores.

The two research questions for the study were:

(1) How do NNS's conform or diverge from NS norms in the performance of apologies?

(2) What relationship exists between NNS performance of apologies and NNS TOEFL scores?

Our hypotheses for each question were as follows:

(H1) Differences between NSs and NNSs in the performance of apologies were due to chance ($p \leq 0.05$).

(H2) Differences between TOEFL score groups in the performance of apologies were due to chance ($p \leq 0.5$)

The number of instances for each type of apology used in each situation (8 types of apology, 8 situations) were counted. The unit of analysis was the entire reply. After tabulating the data, the total and mean scores for each participant were calculated. A total of 64 two-tailed T-tests were calculated using an IBM statistics package to determine whether differences between NS and NNS mean scores were due to chance for each of the apology types in each situation (Appendix B, Tables 1 and 2).

Findings

In response to the first question, our findings indicated that NNSs diverged from NSs in the performance of apologies in two out of eight situations given in the verbal DCTs. Hypothesis 1 was rejected in six out of eight situations and accepted in two out eight situations at $p \leq 0.05$ level of significance. This finding revealed that NNSs significantly undersupplied certain types of apology in two out of the eight situations in comparison to NS norms in identical situations. More specifically, NNS significantly undersupplied explicit apologies (e.g., "I apologize") in a situation where an unintentional insult was given (Situation 1), acknowledgments of responsibility (e.g., "It was my fault") when forgetting a meeting with a boss (Situation 2), and intensifiers (e.g., "very sorry") in a situation where an unintentional insult was given (Situation 1).

We include several examples from the transcripts to indicate the types of differences that existed between the NNSs and the NSs. Examples 1-3 illustrate where NNS significantly undersupplied types of apologies, and 4-5 where no significant difference existed between NNSs and NSs. The bolded words indicate examples of the types of apology that were compared.

(1) Explicit Apology in Situation 1

You're at a meeting and you say something that one of the participants interprets as a personal insult to him. He says, "I feel that your last remark was directed at me and I take offense."

NNS: Take it easy–if er I wrong wrong I will mm I'll make a dinner for you.

NS: Oh, **I'm sorry** if you took offense I meant nothing personal by it I was just referring in general it wasn't referred to you or anyone else here–it's just a general remark **I'm sorry** if you took offense.

In the above extract, the NNS uses an American idiom "take it easy" in an inappropriate context and attempts to redress his offense by making dinner for the victim. Business colleagues in America do not redress an insult by offering to make dinner. Such an offer would appear socially awkward in the American context, but perhaps in the NNS's culture this would be an acceptable offer (whether or not the offender really intends to make a meal for the victim is another question).

(2) Acknowledgment of Responsibility in Situation 2

You completely forgot a crucial meeting with your boss. An hour later you call him to apologize. The problem is that this is the second time you've forgotten such a meeting. Your boss gets on the line and asks, "What happened to you ?"

NNS: Next time um don't wait don't wait don't wait um promise o.k.

NS: I'm really sorry **I was being negligent I understand that** I missed a meeting um I will try to do better in the future.

In this example, the NNS uses an imperative to a superior which may function as an apology from the offender's point of view. To the victim, however, this might appear to function as a directive. The NNS response ends with "Promise o.k." which again seems inappropriate. Why should a superior promise to a subordinate when he or she has been offended? Perhaps this is a case of the NNS's limited linguistic proficiency being combined with sociolinguistic rules from a non-American culture. The net effect would probably not be to restore the broken relationship with the superior.

(3) Intensifier in Situation 1

You're at a meeting and you say something that one of the participants interprets as a personal insult to him. He says, "I feel that your last remark was directed at me and I take offense."

NNS: I ....I didn't mean that er I'm trying to tell about that that good thing that the that the right the right word

NS: Well you shouldn't because I didn't **really** mean that what I meant to say was something completely different so I ...I don't want you to get offended because it wasn't my intention so I'm sorry I'll say it again

Although both the NNS and the NS use an apology to signal lack of intent, only the NS uses an intensifier. The intensifier strengthens the force of the apology. We were not sure that the NNS had the sociolinguistic repertoire to intensify apologies, nor were we sure whether an intensifier represents a minor social nicety rather than an essential linguistic item for communication to occur.

(4) Explicit Apology and Acknowledgment in Situation 7

You bump into a well-dressed elderly lady at a department store, shaking her up a bit. It's your fault, and you want to apologize. She says, "Hey, look out !"

NNS: **I am sorry I am sorry I didn't see you** I beg your pardon

NS: Oh **I'm sorry** Ma'am uh how careless of me ! **I didn't mean it** are you ok? Can I help you back up ?

In this example, the NNS conforms to the NS norm.

(5) Premodifier in Situation 6

You accidently bump in to a well-dressed elderly lady at an elegant department store, causing her to spill her packages all over the floor. You hurt your leg too. It's clearly your fault and you want to apologize profusely. She says, "Ow ! My goodness !"

NNS: **Oh** I'm sorry I couldn'e you please apologize me

NS: **Oh** my gosh are you ok ? Did I hurt you are you sure you're alright ? **Oh oh** let me help you get your things I'm really sorry are you sure you are alright ?

Here, in both cases, the speakers use the premodifier "oh" to apologize when hurting an elderly lady and causing her to spill her packages. "Oh" signals surprise and sincerity in English and indicates familiarity with American rules of speech, but we do not know if NNSs use similar forms in their cultures and cannot, therefore, account for this as either learned or transferred.

However, the researchers were not satisfied with this finding for several reasons. First, the absence of significant difference between NS mean and NNS mean did not signal equivalence. It does not necessarily follow that NNSs conformed perfectly to NS norms in sociolinguistic terms. NNSs produced utterances that could be coded as target-like but because of their *linguistic forms*, would not be regarded as target-like (TL).

In the following two excerpts (6,7), the NNS supplied semantically similar utterances but the utterances do not sound native-like:

(6) Situation 8

You bump into an elderly lady at a department store. You hardly could have avoided doing so because she was blocking the way. Still you feel that some kind of apology is in order. She says, "Oh, my!"

NNS: Excuse me! You bumped !

NS: Oh excuse me ! I'm sorry I didn't realize you were standing there

In (6) the NNS misuses the verb "to bump." This error makes the NNS appear rude and abrupt (when perhaps he does not intend to be). This illustrates a common problem in NS-NNS interaction. The NS misinterprets the function of the NNS speech act because of a syntactic error. NNSs may use the appropriate function but are not target-like in their syntactic form.

In (7) the NNS's function is similar to the NSs, but the form is different.

(7) Situation 6

You accidently bump into a well-dressed elderly lady at an elegant department store, causing her to spill her packages all over the floor. You hurt your leg too. It's clearly your fault and you want to apologize profusely. She says, "Ow! My goodness!"

NNS: How can you how can I help you ? If you need my help everything will I do

NS: Oh I'm so sorry er let me help you with your packages er my fault I'm very sorry it's an accident I wasn't looking where I was going

The NNS sounds socially awkward although the response is functionally adequate. It seems "excessive" to offer help in every area of the victim's life. The word order problems of "everything I will do" has a socially "jarring" effect similar to (12). The NNS in (14) attempted to redress the offense with an excessive offer. In one situation upon bumping into an elderly lady, one NNS apologized "Sorry. Welcome." This functions as an explicit apology according to the coding scheme, but the form is not target-like. NSs would not say "Welcome" after "Sorry." Apologies and "welcome" are not juxtaposed in this manner.

In response to the second research question concerning correlations between TOEFL scores and the performance of apologies by NNS, the findings indicated that TOEFL was an imprecise predictor for how NNSs would perform this particular speech act. The findings are displayed in graphs 1-8. Graphs 1-4 illustrate differences between TOEFL scoring groups with regard to apologies that were significantly

undersupplied; graphs 5-8 show situations where no significant difference existed between NSs and NNSs. For the purpose of our analysis, we excluded two TOEFL scoring groups (Group A [353-403] and Group C [455-505]) because of the small number of participants who were included in each group. This left us with a lower scoring group (B) and a higher group (D).

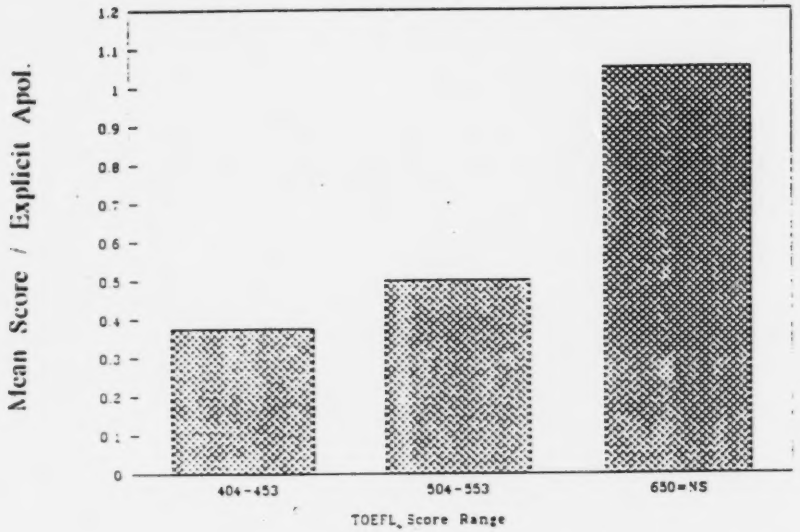
In Graph 1, there was little difference between B and D. In Graph 2, the higher TOEFL group (D) was closer to the NS norm (1.05) with a mean of 1.0, but both groups significantly undersupplied an acknowledgment of responsibility in an unintentional situation. In Graph 3, the lower TOEFL group (B) was closer to the NS norm (1.4) with a mean score of 0.875, but this was still a significant undersuppliance. This was an interesting finding because the higher TOEFL group appeared to be less targetlike than the lower group.[11] In Graph 4, the higher group is closer to the NS norm (0.3) with a mean score for intensifiers in an unintentional insult situation of 0.125.

In Graphs 5-8, no significant differences were found between NSs and NNSs. These graphs represent approximately 5% of the data that were not significant. In Graph 5, the higher TOEFL group had a tendency to oversupply an explicit apology when forgetting a meeting with a boss. The NS norm was 0.9, the high group produced a mean of 1.625 and the low group 0.875 (which was closer to the NS norm). Beebe and Takahashi (1987) also found a tendency for oversuppliance among requests with NNSs. This may indicate a type of sociolinguistic u-shaped development where learners pass through a period of over-supplying a certain form before they learn its restrictions. A similar tendency is revealed in Graph 6. The higher group oversupplied (1.5) and the lower group (1.125) were closer to the NS norm (1.15). In Graph 7 (forgetting a meeting with a friend), however, the higher group (1.125) is closer to the NS norm (1.25) than the lower group (0.625). Why, we asked ourselves, did the higher TOEFL scoring group oversupply explicit apologies rather than acknowledgments of responsibility when forgetting a meeting with a friend? In Graph 8 (bumping into an elderly lady), both groups showed a tendency to oversupply intensifiers. Evidently, it is not enough for NNSs to know when and how to apologize, they also need to understand when not to apologize (for example, in car accidents when insurance claims are unresolved).

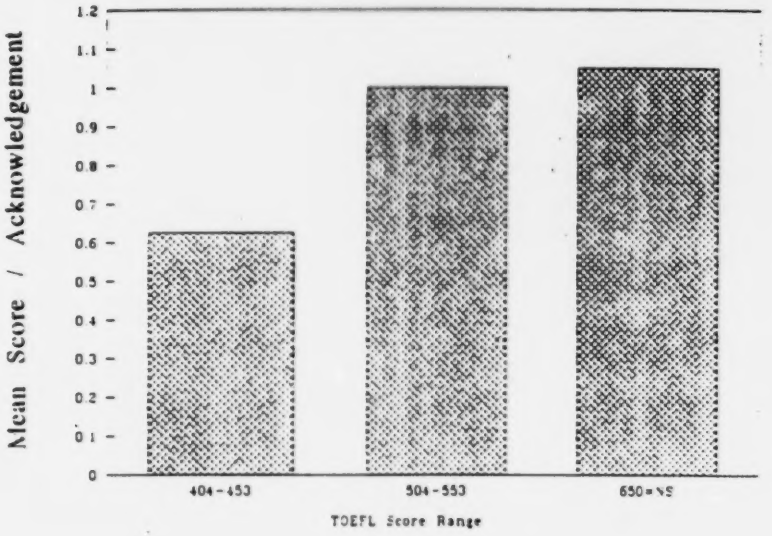
Discussion

NNSs significantly undersupplied explicit apologies, acknowledgment of their need to apologize and the use of intensifiers associated with apologies in an insult-

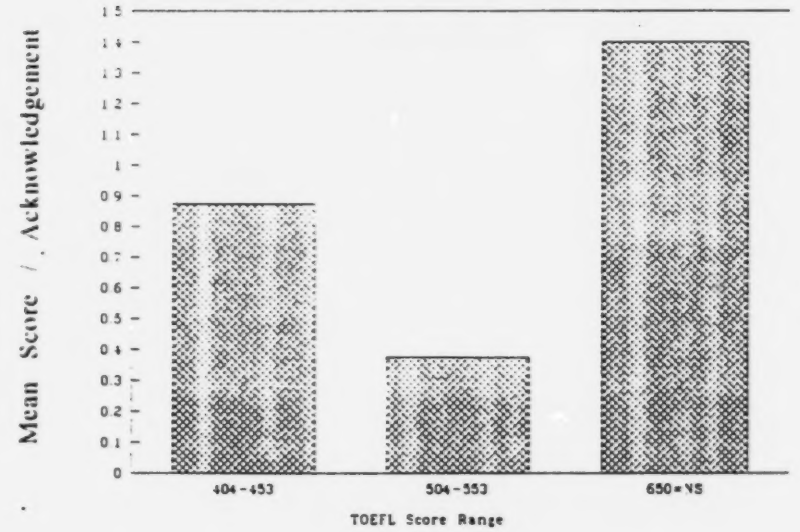
GRAPH 1: UNINTENTIONAL INSULT



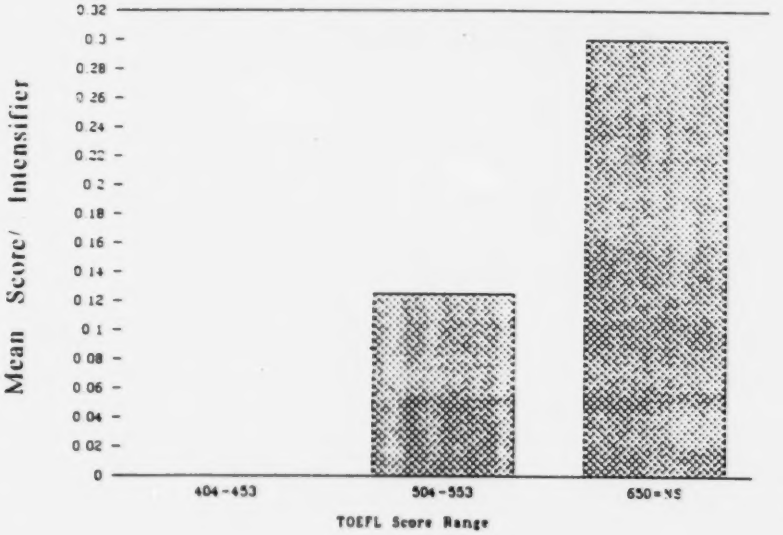
GRAPH 2: UNINTENTIONAL INSULT



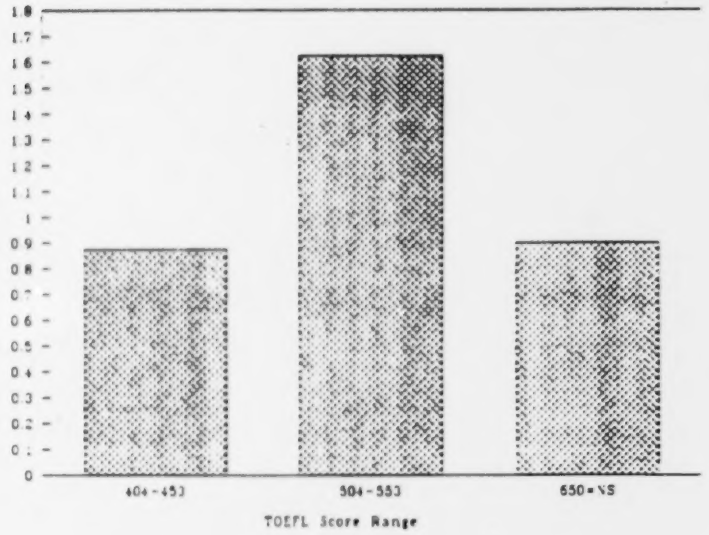
GRAPH 3: FORGET BOSS' MEETING



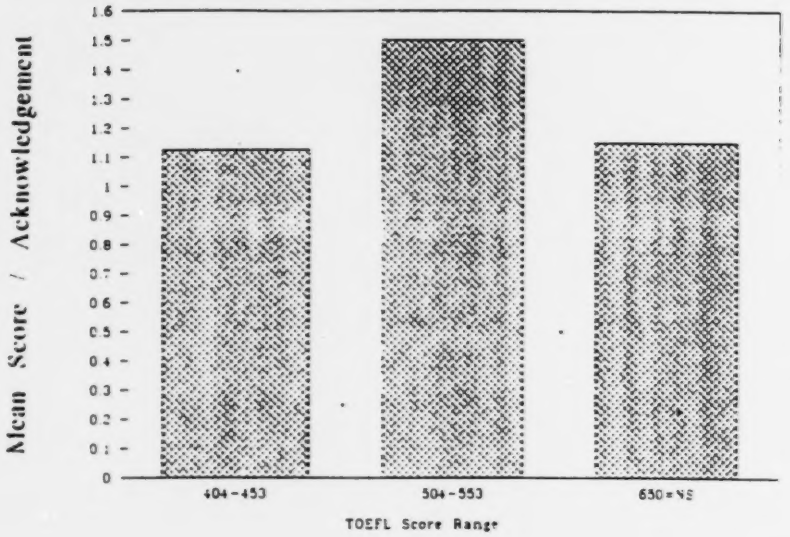
GRAPH 4: UNINTENTIONAL INSULT



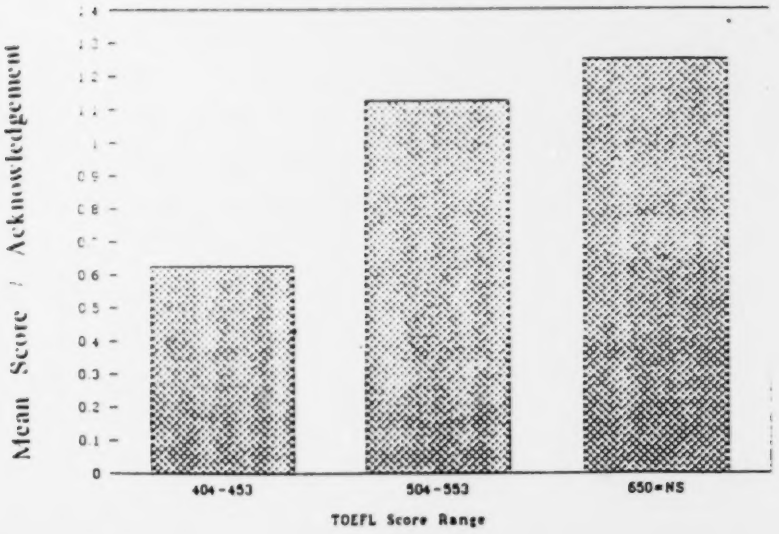
GRAPH 5: FORGET BOSS' MEETING



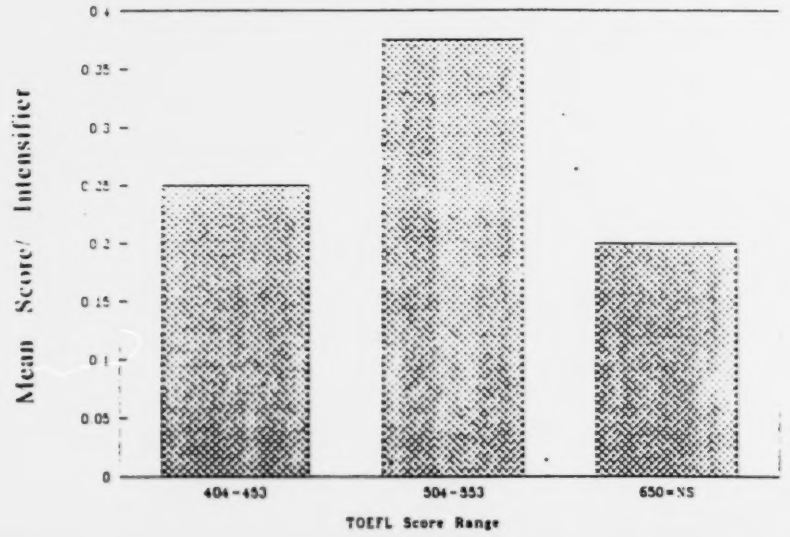
GRAPH 6: FORGET FRIEND MEETING



GRAPH 7: FORGET FRIEND MEETING



GRAPH 8: BUMP ELDERLY LADY



type situation. NNSs also significantly undersupplied an acknowledgment of their need to apologize in a situation where they had missed an important meeting with their boss. We were surprised to find no instances where NNSs significantly oversupplied the required semantic formulae.[12]

There are several limitations to this study. The small sample size (N=40) is an obvious threat to its external validity. This is true also in regard to the selection bias among the participants–NNSs were doubly self-selected by choosing both ELP and by choosing to participate in the study. There also exists the possibility that an ordering bias of the DCT situations occurred since they were written on cards and shuffled by hand during each interview. It is possible that the variation in the setting may have had some effect on the data collected, but it is beyond the scope of this paper to assess this. DCTs themselves could be criticized for their artificiality and lack of context, even though they permit researchers to collect a large quantity of data fairly rapidly.

Due to the nature of our choice of speech act (the apology), there were limits to the ways data could be collected, especially with the constraints of time and researchers. One NS informant told us he was unsure of what he would say if he "bumped into a lady," because in a "real" situation, he would apologize "until he was satisfied." Evidently this NS could only be "satisfied" through negotiation which was not possible in this study.

Factors such as age, gender and first language backgrounds were not taken into account when the intergroup comparison was made. There may be patterns along these dimensions, but they are beyond the scope of this present study.

Conclusion

Little is known about communicative competence–the rules of sociolinguistic discourse, and little is known about the acquisition of grammatical competence, but even less is known about patterns of acquisition of sociocultural competence among NNSs. More research is needed in the area of speech act acquisition–particularly in relation to time of exposure to the target language, amounts of formal instruction, and amount of NS interaction with NNSs.

Future research on apologies could investigate: 1) naturalistic speech behavior in varied speech communities among NSs and NNSs, using ethnographic methods, 2) quasi-naturalistic oral responses through video-taped apology sequences (preferably from real-life, e.g. customer service encounters at large department stores may have been videotaped for security purposes), 3) unforeseen opportunities for collecting

natural data, 4) video-taped interactions where NNSs perform apologies, followed-up with feedback as both the NNS and the instructor watch the video-tape (Cohen & Olshtain [1992] have begun to expand this type of research). The subjects often waited until we turned the tape recorder off and then apologized for their English. Perhaps in similar studies, researchers could complete the DCT, leave the tape recorded on, and record any subsequent interactions. Alternatively, the researcher could turn off the recorder and make a note when subjects apologize.

Through the course of our research we came to appreciate the difficulty of providing ESL testing, evaluation/placement measures that accurately reflect NS norms. How do we decide *which* NS norms to use? One of the advantages of our study was the comparison of NS norms and NNS performance for subjects who were all members of the same speech community (universities in Philadelphia). However, we recognize the need for NNSs to realize that not all NS norms are the same.

There is a need for research into assessments and evaluations of sociolinguistic competence–assessments that measure grammatical and linguistic competence to insure correct placement and instructional strategies. Instruments must, of course, be developed on empirical foundations that identify competence on both levels. Pedagogy must reflect those studies in the development of ESL curricula and materials to better equip NNSs for interaction with NSs of English.[13]

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1 Although this has not been immune from criticism (see Hornberger, 1988).

2 Notable *Speaking Naturally* (Tillit & Bruder, 1986) and *Say it Naturally: Verbal Strategies for Authentic Communication* (Wall, 1987).

3 They include English, French, German, and Greek.

4 Fraser's ten strategies are labeled as follows: 1) Announcing that you are apologizing, 2) Stating one's obligation to apologize, 3) Offering to apologize, 4) Requesting the hearer accept an apology, 5) Expressing regret for the offense, 6) Requesting forgiveness for the offense, 7) Acknowledging responsibility for the offending act, 8) Promising forbearance from a similar offending act, 9) Offering redress, and, 10) Recantation.

5 This collection of data seems to be quite impressive, yet the analysis presented in the article does not lead the reader to believe that the inferences were drawn from the corpus, but rather from the author's native speaker intuition with the support of the data. The ten strategies, for example, contain stilted wording in the examples for the strategies: under Strategy 3, Offering to apologize, the example is "'I (hereby) offer my apology for..."

6 The generalization that Borkin and Reinhart discovered was that when Americans bump into a stranger "excuse me" primarily expresses the speaker's relationship to a rule or a set of rules, while "I'm sorry" primarily expresses the speaker's relation to another person (65).

7 We readily acknowledge that this large age range may have influenced our findings.

8 Except one international graduate student at the University of Pennsylvania.

9 The lowest level classes at ELP were not approached because it was felt that their lack of linguistic proficiency might have prohibited them from understanding the DCT's.

10 F7, "Advice for the Future," was very uncommon and was only given a separate category because of doubt over how else to label it. Only two NNSs used this formula and only one time each.

11 Alternatively, we might suggest that there were more individuals in the higher group who did not feel the need to acknowledge their responsibility to a boss.

12 Oversuppliance by instructed learners was found by Doughty, 1988.

13 This paper would have been impossible without the help, encouragement and advice of the following: the students and the instructors in the English Language Programs at the University of Pennsylvania; Dr. Kristine Billmyer and Dr. Boe of the Graduate School of Education at the University of Pennsylvania; Professor Dell Hymes of the University of Virginia; Professor Andrew Cohen of the University of Minnesota; Kim Linnell and Howard Porter. The authors, however, take full responsibility for any faults or problems related to this study.

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Appendix A

Cohen and Olhstain's Discourse Completion Test (1981)

S 1 You're at a meeting and you say something that one of the participants interprets as a personal insult to him.
He: "I feel that your last remark was directed at me and I take offense."
You:

S 2 You completely forget a crucial meeting at the office with your boss. An hour later you call him to apologize. The problem is that this is the second time you've forgotten such a meeting. Your boss gets on the line and asks:
Boss: "What happened to you?"
You:

S 3 You forget a get-together with a friend. You call him to apologize. This is already the second time you've forgotten such a meeting. Your friend asks over the phone:
Friend: "What happened?"
You:

S 4 You call from work to find out how things are at home and your kid reminds you that you forgot to take him shopping, as you had promised. And this is the second time that this has happened. Your kid says over the phone:
Kid: "Oh, you forgot again and you promised!"
You:

S 5 Backing out of a parking place, you run into the side of another car. It was clearly your fault. you dent in the side door slightly. The driver gets out and comes over to you angrily.
Driver: "Can't you look where you're going? See what you've done?"
You:

S 6 You accidentally bump into a well-dressed elderly lady at an elegant department store, causing her to spill her packages all over the floor. You hurt her leg, too. It's clearly your fault and you want to apologize profusely.
She: "Ow! My goodness!"

S 7 You bump into a well-dressed elderly lady at a department store, shaking her up a bit. It's your fault, and you want to apologize.
She: "Hey, look out!"
You:

S 8 You bump into an elderly lady at a department store. You hardly could have avoided doing so because she was blocking the way. Still, you feel that some kind of apology is in order.
She: "Oh, my!"
You:

Appendix B

Table 1

Correlation between TOEFL scores and NNS performance of apologies: significant undersuppliance of explicit apologies, acknowledgments and intensifiers in two situations (1=unintentional insult, 2=forgetting meeting with boss).

Hypothesis: differences between TOEFL groups and NSs were due to chance (rejected at $p \leq 0.05$).

TOEFL group	Situation 1 Insult Explicit Apology	Situation 1 Insult Acknowledged	Situation 1 Insult Intensifier	Situation 1 Forget Boss Acknowledged
Group A (353-403)				
353	0	1	0	0
366	1	0	0	0
Group B (404-454)				
420	1	0	0	1
427	0	1	0	1
430	1	0	0	1
430	0	0	0	1
433	0	1	0	0
439	0	1	0	1
443	1	1	0	1
453	0	1	0	1
Group C (455-505)				
492	1	0	0	0
500	1	1	0	0
Group D (506-556)				
520	0	1	0	0
523	1	1	0	1
525	0	1	0	0
527	0	1	1	0
530	0	1	0	0
545	1	2	0	1
550	2	0	0	1
553	0	1	0	0
NS Mean	1.05	1.05	0.3	1.4
NNS Mean	1.0 (C)	1.0 (D)	0.125 (D)	0.875 (B)
	0.5 (D)	0.625 (B)	0.0 (A)	0.5 (A)
	0.5 (A)	0.5 (C)	0.0 (B)	0.375 (D)
	0.375 (B)	0.5 (A)	0.0 (C)	0.0 (C)
T-Test ≤0.05	significant	significant	significant	significant

*TOEFL scores were grouped at 50 point intervals because Educational Testing Service (ETS) who produced the test stated that only differences greater than this were significant.

Table 2

Correlation between TOEFL score groups and NNS performance of apologies: No significant difference in types of apologies used in 6 out of 8 situations between NS and NNS.

Hypothesis: differences between NS and NNS in the performance of apologies due to chance (accepted at $p \leq 0.05$).

TOEFL group	Situation 2 Forget Boss Explicit Apology	Situation 3 Forget Friend Explicit Apology	Situation 3 Forget Friend Acknowledgement	Situation 7 Bump Lady Intensifier
Group A (353-403)				
353	1	1	1	0
366	1	1	1	0
Group B (404-454)				
420	1	1	1	0
427	1	2	1	1
430	1	0	1	0
430	1	0	0	0
433	1	1	0	1
439	1	2	2	0
443	0	1	0	0
453	1	2	0	0
Group C (455-505)				
492	1	1	1	0
500	2	2	2	1
Group D (506-556)				
520	3	2	0	1
523	1	2	2	0
525	1	1	2	1
527	1	1	2	1
530	2	2	1	0
545	2	2	0	1
550	1	1	1	0
553	2	1	2	0
NS Mean	0.9	1.15	1.25	0.2
NNS Mean	1.625 (D)	1.5 (D)	1.5 (C)	0.5 (C)
	1.5 (C)	1.5 (C)	1.125 (D)	0.375 (D)
	1.0 (A)	1.125 (B)	1.0 (A)	0.25 (B)
	0.875 (B)	1.0 (A)	0.625 (B)	0.0 (A)
T-Test ≤0.05	ns	ns	ns	ns

NB : Figure 3 displays 3 types of apology in 3 situations and represents approximately 5% of the data .

Acquisition policy planning and litigation: Language planning in the context of Y.S. v. School District of Philadelphia

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This paper discusses language policy and educational practice in the context of a class action law suit filed on behalf of Asian students in Philadelphia concerning their linguistic and academic needs. It addresses both macro and micro perspectives in its discussion of litigation policy, acquisition policy planning, and Asian Americans in the United States. The analysis incorporates Rubin's (1971) and Fishman's (1979) frameworks as tools for understanding language planning processes in this particular context. In addition, orientations to language planning, the planners and actors involved in the process, and the specific curricular and personnel changes that resulted from this law suit are discussed in an effort to both understand the particular complexities of this situation as well as to evaluate the effectiveness of the relationship between litigation policy and acquisition policy planning in implementing programs for language minority students in American schools.

Introduction

Many theorists have struggled to create a definition of language planning which could encompass the multiple activities that fall within its domain. Typically, language planning cases concern decisions made about the status or corpus of a language for a particular country, often as a response to a language problem. In this paper, I will discuss a case that involves language planning decisions made at the local level, within the Philadelphia School District. Throughout, I will use Cooper's term, *acquisition planning*, to describe those planning processes that relate to "organized efforts to promote the learning of a language" (1989:157). Specifically, this is a case of "acquisition policy planning" because it deals with "language's formal role in society" (Hornberger, 1992), particularly its role in the schools. Although the focus will be on micro perspectives of language planning in this

particular school district, it is also important to view acquisition policy planning at the macro level as a context for what is happening in Philadelphia.

In looking at any language planning case, there are multiple layers of planning and a variety of ways to analyze and describe them. In this paper, I will focus on language planning processes and will draw upon several models from the literature (Rubin, 1971; Karam, 1974; Fishman, 1979; Bamgbose, 1989). Most of these models were developed to look at language planning processes at the national rather than the local level. In fact, Bamgbose criticizes Kennedy's emphasis on micro levels of language planning, stating:

> The notion of levels may...be further expanded to include units lower than the government, such as institutions, departments, and classrooms (Kennedy, 1982:268), but it seems that this weakens the notion considerably; lower units can easily be proliferated beyond the point where they cease to be meaningful (Bamgbose, 1989:30).

Although this may sometimes be true, it is my belief that these models can also be quite illuminating at the local level.

This case of acquisition policy planning is directly connected to a 1985 class action suit filed against the Philadelphia School District, *Y.S. v. School District of Philadelphia*, concerning the linguistic needs of Asian students. My own interest in the case stems from my role as a researcher in the School District of Philadelphia, working for the lawyers who originally filed the suit. The purpose of the research was to understand and evaluate the implementation of the proposed acquisition policy.

It will be useful to frame our discussion with an exploration of the role of litigation in determining acquisition policy in the United States at the macro level—what August and Garcia (1988) call *litigation policy*. For although the suit has been settled out of court, the court has had a continued influence on the language planning processes of this case. I will also show the ways in which litigation influences the orientations language planners take in making their decisions. In addition, because this case concerns the specific needs of Asian students in the Philadelphia schools, it will be useful to sketch a broad picture of Asian Americans in the United States, Pennsylvania, and Philadelphia.

The bulk of this inquiry will focus on micro perspectives of this language planning case, and will attempt to answer the question, "Who are the language planners and what are the language planning processes?" I will conclude with a

critique of models of language planning processes in terms of their ability to illuminate this case, and a discussion of how successful litigation policy is in determining the processes and outcomes of acquisition policy planning.

Macro Perspectives

Litigation Policy

Although there has been a long history of court involvement in settling school–related issues, the courts have traditionally "attempted to define and apply basic principles but refrain from prescribing or formulating educational policy" (August & Garcia, 1988:57). In the arena of rights concerning equal opportunity, there has been consistent pressure from plaintiffs to mandate particular types of programs to accomplish desired outcomes. The courts have been forced into a position of monitoring the "success" of programs in accomplishing the goals of equal opportunity long after initial decisions concerning equal opportunity have been made. August and Garcia explain how the courts became involved in educational policy decisions:

> Courts became educational reformers but did so reluctantly and cautiously, attempting to avoid involvement in professional debates regarding pedagogy....Through several decades of adjudication, policy derived from that adjudication has arisen (1988:58).

The foundation of court decisions concerning acquisition policy in the schools has come not from the 1968 Bilingual Education Act, but from the 1964 Civil Rights Act and the 1974 Equal Education Opportunities Act. The Civil Rights Act (Title VI) did not specifically address the language issue, but instead focused on race and national origin as the basis of discrimination. The Equal Education Opportunities Act, however, does explicitly address the language rights of students who are not native speakers of English. It includes "the failure by an educational agency to take appropriate action to overcome language barriers that impede equal participation by its students in its instructional programs" (August & Garcia, 1988:59) as a criterion for determining the denial of equal educational opportunity in the schools.

In *Lau v. Nichols*, the Supreme Court set policy and precedent for acquisition policy planning for linguistic minority students. In this case, "The Court found that Title VI was violated when there was the *effect* of discrimination, although there was

no *intent*" (Malakoff & Hakuta, 1990:34). Providing the same services, books and facilities for linguistic minority students as for others was simply not enough. The landmark *Lau v. Nichols* (1974) decision was handed down before the Equal Educational Opportunities Act. In fact, *Lau* provided the basis for this Act.

What have come to be known as the *Lau Remedies* have directly influenced many subsequent cases. In 1975, these guidelines were published by the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare to assist school districts in developing programs for linguistic minorities. These guidelines specified procedures for evaluating language skills, developing appropriate educational programs, deciding when students could be mainstreamed, and identifying professional standards for teachers (Lyons, 1990:66). In their discussion of the history of language minority education, Malakoff and Hakuta sum up the influence of *Lau* on other court cases:

> In the aftermath of *Lau*, courts followed the guidelines established by the Supreme Court. They tended to avoid the constitutional issue, to rely on "discriminatory effect" application of Title VI, to choose a remedy case by case, and to take into account the number of children involved (1990:35).

Orientations to Acquisition Policy Planning

Ruiz discusses three main orientations in language planning: language as problem, language as right, and language as resource. He defines an orientation as a "complex of dispositions toward language and its role and toward languages and their role in society" (1984:16). The influence of litigation on acquisition policy planning tends to orient planners toward a view of language as a problem or right, but rarely as a resource.

Ruiz outlines Shirley Hufstedler's (Secretary of Education under Carter) view concerning the language as problem orientation in the Lau Remedies:

> The major declarations of the courts do nothing to encourage anything but transition....The essential purpose of the Lau Regulations is to identify the best services for treating English limited students and "to determine when those services are no longer needed and the students can be taught exclusively in English" (Hufstedler, 1980:66 [cited in Ruiz, 1984:21]).

The influence of this orientation is strongly felt in many cases concerning linguistic minorities.

The language as right orientation can also be found in cases where violations of students' linguistic rights have led to court action. Ruiz points out Macias' distinction between two kinds of language rights: "The right to freedom of discrimination on the basis of language" and "the right to use language(s) in the activities of communal life" (Macias, 1979:88–89 [cited in Ruiz, 1984:22]). Understanding the notion of rights, particularly language rights, is not a simple endeavor. From the time of Hobbes, Rousseau, and Locke, there has been much debate over the distinction between natural rights and legal or conventional rights (Cobarrubias, 1983:73). In the case of litigation policy in the United States, we are most often concerned with those rights that Macias would classify with "freedom of discrimination," and that Locke might call "conventional" or "legal." Ruiz concludes his discussion of language rights appropriately stating that the controversy is "one where the rights of the few are affirmed over those of the many" (1984:24).

Asian Americans in the United States

Suzuki quotes U.S. Census data from 1980 which shows that during the previous decade "the rate of growth of the Asian–Pacific American population was almost double that of the next fastest growing minority group and more than ten times that of the U.S. population as a whole" (1983:1). That *Lau v. Nichols* (1974) and *Y.S. v. School District of Philadelphia* (1985) have been a part of the recent history of the United States is not surprising since the population of Asian Americans is growing faster than any other minority group. One complicating factor concerning Asian Americans and public education has come from the perception that Asians constitute a "model minority" and do not have substantial difficulties in school. Suzuki claims that this view of Asians "is superficial at best and has contributed to widespread misconceptions that have impeded efforts to identify and meet the educational needs" of Asian students (1983:7).

In his article on the immigration patterns of the Indochinese in the United States, Thuy describes two distinct waves of Indochinese migration: those who arrived directly from Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia in 1975 and 1976, and those who have arrived since 1976 after stays in refugee camps in other parts of Asia (1983:104). This second group of refugees that make up the population most influential in the filing of *Y.S. v. School District of Philadelphia* and most affected by the resulting educational policy. Thuy describes this wave of Indochinese refugees:

> These refugees have come to the U.S. in poor health, with much lower educational and socioeconomic backgrounds, and with fewer marketable skills than their predecessors. They also seem to have less capability in the English language and little or no exposure to Western culture and urban living. A substantial number of them have been semiilliterate [sic] or illiterate (1983:107).

In the April 1991 "Report of the Asian American Task Force of the Pennsylvania Heritage Affairs Commission," the authors discuss the difficulty in obtaining information about the "size and nature" of Asian American communities in Pennsylvania. However, they are able to glean some information from 1990 census data: "While there is no accurate information currently for the size of individual Asian American communities, we do know that from 1980 to 1990, the size of the total Asian American population in Pennsylvania increased 113.5 percent" (1991:2). This report classifies Asian American communities in Pennsylvania in four broad categories: established communities, professionals, entrepreneurial communities, and refugee communities (1991:4).

Within Philadelphia County, the total Asian population as of February, 1991 was 43,522, a 145% increase since 1980 (1991:26). The School District of Philadelphia provides the following estimates of the overall Southeast Asian population in Philadelphia proper as of August 1987 (School District of Philadelphia, 1988:38).

Cambodian	7,000
Hmong	365
Lao	3,500
Overseas Chinese	2,000
Vietnamese	7,000

In a November 1991 document from the Philadelphia School District's Office of Language Minority Programs, the current Asian population in the schools is listed at 8,390 with approximately 3,200 classified as Limited English Proficient (LEP). The total LEP population in the fall was 7,293. The director of Language Minority Programs, Thai Van Nguyen, has projected that the total LEP population will reach 7,861 as of June 1992.

Micro Perspectives

Y.S. v. School District of Philadelphia

It will prove useful to first sketch a picture of the major events leading to the filing of the suit and the subsequent program changes being implemented in the school district for Asian students. More than a year before the suit was actually filed, the Education Law Center was receiving complaints from the parents and teachers of Asian students about violence in the schools, communication between the school and the parents, and about problems with the English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL) program, particularly that students were failing in the regular classes they attended during most of the day. At that time, the Education Law Center made informal requests to the school district for information about services offered to Asian students (Rieser, 1990).

After more than a year of hearing complaints and not receiving adequate responses from the school district, the Law Center filed a suit in December 1985 on behalf of a 16-year-old Cambodian student, Y.S., who after three years of not making progress in his ESOL classes, was tested using English-based tests and determined to be retarded. At that point, his parents were asked to sign forms in English (which they did not understand) to have him put in a special education program (Woodall, 1985:48). As Len Rieser, the attorney for the plaintiff, states, "In December, 1985, believing that our informal negotiations with the District were not producing results, and after consulting extensively with Asian community organizations and with teachers serving Asian children, we filed a lawsuit in federal court" (Rieser 1990:2).

In 1986, the Education Law Center filed an Amended Complaint which added two other plaintiffs and outlined specific problems more fully. The Law Center also hired experts from the Center for Applied Linguistics, Newcomer High School, and the Illinois Resource Center to visit schools and review school district documentation. In addition, the school district hired experts to investigate the extent of the problems in the system. The consultants for the Law Center and those for the school district generally agreed about the major problems in the current system and the major linguistic and academic difficulties Asian students were facing in the schools.

In 1987, the Education Law Center published a document called a "Request for Admissions" which included a list of 352 facts they believed they could prove in a trial. Rieser summarizes them saying:

> These facts indicated that the ESOL program was antiquated and inappropriate; that hundreds of students were failing in regular classes because they were receiving insufficient help; that bilingual services were inadequate to meet student needs; that counseling services were inaccessible to many students because of the language barrier; that many language minority students did not have meaningful access to vocational education programs; and that no mechanisms were in place to assist parents in communicating with their child's school (1990:4).

Shortly before court date, an agreement was reached. An "Interim Remedial Agreement" was produced in February of 1988 with the stipulation that the school district would submit a Remedial Plan by the end of the summer. The Remedial Plan was created under the guidance of an Advisory Committee made up of six people: half were chosen by the Law Center and half by the school district. In the end, its members included an ESOL department head (from a school outside of Philadelphia), two ESOL teachers, a Chinese-American parent, a principal, and the Director of Foreign Languages for the school district.

The agreement reached included not only outlines for new instructional programs and counseling services, but also increased bilingual support for parental communication, testing, tutoring and counseling. Although this case is often linked with *Lau v. Nichols* and is the first class-action suit filed concerning Asian students since the *Lau* decision, the remedies agreed upon here are much more specific than the *Lau Remedies*. An article in *Education Week* compared the two cases: "The agreement reached in the Philadelphia case is far more specific than the remedy the Court ordered in Lau. It requires the district to review the placement of all limited-English-proficient Asian students in regular and special education classes and to develop a plan to revise instructional programs where necessary" (Snider, 1988:1).

Beginning in the spring of 1989, what has come to be known as the "New Instructional Model" was implemented at three pilot schools. Several additional schools were added in the 1989-90 academic year. In the fall of 1990, all schools with substantial Asian LEP students in them (33 schools) had begun to implement this program. The New Instructional Model replaces the three-tier ESOL level structure (beginner, intermediate, advanced) with a four-tier structure which divides beginners into two groups: "students with no literacy skills in either English or their native language" (Level 1) and "students with limited English literacy or literacy in their native language but no proficiency in English" (Level 2). In addition, there are

two other levels: intermediate (Level 3) and advanced (Level 4) (School District of Philadelphia, 1988:F1).

Within the New Instructional Model, students at different levels receive differing amounts of ESOL. At all levels and in all grades, students are given a tutorial period in which assistance provided on their content-area work by teachers and bilingual tutors. In the middle and high school models, students in Levels 1, 2, and 3 go to sheltered (and co-taught) content classes with other ESOL students, rather than attending regular content classes with native-speaking peers. (See Appendix A for more information on particular models.) Teachers are encouraged to use the Whole Language Approach; staff development workshops have been offered to assist teachers in adopting this approach.

In March 1991, the Education Law Center filed a "Motion for Finding of Noncompliance and Appointment of Special Monitor" because of persistent implementation difficulties. In their report to the court, the Education Law Center stated:

> We recognize that implementation of the remedy in a case of this sort cannot be expected to proceed without glitches and snags. At this point, however, it is clear that we are confronting systemic, rather than isolated, problems....We have not lightly arrived at the decision to request the Court's intervention. On the contrary, we have consistently avoided making such a request, always choosing instead to proceed through discussion and negotiation (Rieser, 1991:17).

Although the judge did not appoint an official monitor, he did agree that the school district was not complying and issued a "Judicial Finding of Noncompliance." Representatives of the plaintiff and the school district have continued to meet monthly with the magistrate to discuss implementation issues that have remained unresolved for a considerable amount of time.

Decentralized Language Planning

Because of the top-down nature of decision-making in large public school systems, the processes of planning, implementation, and evaluation at first appear to be somewhat centralized. However, further analysis in light of Tollefson's (1984) distinction between centralized and decentralized language planning show that the planning processes at work in this case are highly decentralized. The conflicts between centralized and decentralized decision-making are not specific to this

case, but they reflect the changing nature of the American school system as it begins to shift from a system of centralized control to a system of school-based management. The School District of Philadelphia is in the midst of making this change, as are many districts in the nation. As Fiske states:

> Shared decision-making [is] a new, decentralized approach to the running of schools and school systems that within a few years promises to transform the management of American public education.... The premise of shared decision-making is simple: those closest to the action should have the authority and responsibility to make most of the decisions (1991:30).

The centralized structures are still in place, but schools are beginning to take more responsibility for decisions. This trend is important to understand in this case, as we see the conflict between what school district officials tell schools to do and what schools actually do or are able to do.

Tollefson's notion of decentralized planning concerns three main components: (1) degree of coupling, (2) degree of plan adaptation and, (3) a focus on micro-implementation perspectives. Although Tollefson's discussion focuses on decisions made at the national level, it is illustrative to think of the school district as the "nation" and to see high ranking school district officials as the "national" policy makers.

Degree of coupling concerns the level to which there are many independent organizations or units involved in the decision-making and implementation of the plan. As Tollefson states:

> Decentralized language planning processes are characterized by a system of relatively autonomous units having goals and interests that may significantly differ from those of the the central planners. To the extent that those goals and interests differ, the implemented plan can differ from those of the central planners (1984:178).

The concept of a "loosely coupled system" is appropriate in viewing the process of decision-making, particularly if one includes the influences of the Education Law Center as well as those of school district officials. Although all of the principals of New Instructional Model Schools are told to do the schedules or "rosters" for ESOL students first so that they can be placed in sheltered and co-taught classes, there are many schools that do not do it this way because some other scheduling has taken precedence.

In a school district that struggles to meet the needs of many diverse groups of students, many principals are continually negotiating priorities. Depending on the interests and priorities of particular principals (and to a certain extent, particular teachers), the New Instructional Model can look quite different from school to school. This kind of significant plan adaptation is also a characteristic of decentralized planning processes (Tollefson, 1984:179). One can also see the predominance of micro implementation perspectives as "local concern focuses on the organization and operation of local implementation agencies and institutions" (181). Although there is an interest in implementing the New Instructional Model throughout the system, the implementation definitely takes place school by school. Evidence of this can be seen in how much more successful some schools are than others in implementing the plan.

Language Planning Processes

Many theorists have proposed and discussed models for looking at language planning processes (Rubin, 1971; Karam, 1974; Fishman, 1979; Bamgbose, 1989; Cooper, 1989). In my own attempts to understand the processes involved in this language planning situation, I have experimented with several. Language planning processes are dynamic, not static. For my purposes, looking at Fishman's (1979) model in conjunction with Rubin's (1971) model proved most helpful. By using both of these models, many of the concepts included in Karam's (1974) model are also covered.

Although I have included charts that show the processes and planners involved in each phase of Rubin's and Fishman's models (Appendix B), I would like to propose a model that encompasses some aspects of each for discussion purposes here. For the most part, I have found Fishman's model to be the most extensive and illuminating. However, there are some aspects of Rubin's model that clarify and expand the processes Fishman includes. In essence I would like to take Fishman's model and add Rubin's notion of "fact–finding" and "planning: goals, strategies, outcomes" to it.

As separate models, they look like this:

RUBIN (1971)	FISHMAN (1979)
Fact Finding	Decision-making
goals	
strategies	
outcomes	
Codification	
Elaboration	
Implementation	Implementation
Feedback	Evaluation
Iteration	

Throughout this discussion of processes and models, it is important to remember Rubin's advice:

> It is clear that planning in fact never quite matches th[e] model....But the model is there to help us when we need it....It is probably not a good thing to think of planning as a series of steps but rather to recognize that these steps may come into play at different points in the planning process (1977:285).

Although neither Fishman nor Rubin includes a discussion of planners involved at each step in the process, I have found it useful, particularly in a case that includes so many planners and actors, to show who the planners (and actors) are at each stage.

Fact-finding

This is the first step in Rubin's taxonomy of language planning processes. In her discussion of fact-finding, she includes the needs of the target group, the sociolinguistic setting, the socioeconomic and political context, and the success of "already functioning related models" as important areas language planners should investigate (1977:284). It is easy to see how fact-finding would be an important beginning step in the language planning process. However, it is also important to see how fact-finding occurs throughout the process. In fact, Bamgbose divides fact-finding into three categories: prepolicy, preimplementation and intraimplementation (1989:28).

In the context of *Y.S. v. School District of Philadelphia*, fact-finding has been continuous. Certainly, the initial investigation by consultants on both sides of the suit

constituted prepolicy fact-finding. In addition, the fact-finding done by the school district about numbers and levels of Asian students needing language instruction, testing, counseling services, etc. and the work done by the Advisory Committee in determining how to create a "new instructional model" for the school district would be called preimplementation fact-finding. Finally, the continued fact-finding done by the school district's Office of Accountability and Assessment, and my own observations and interviews in schools for the Education Law Center are certainly evidence of intraimplementation fact-finding.

The on going nature of fact-finding is particularly relevant in this case in the context of continued monitoring by the court. Because of the nature of language policy involving litigation, fact-finding is often duplicated as each side attempts to show the successes and/or problems of the current system. The different goals of fact-finding make the "facts" that are found on each side often quite contradictory. In this particular case, the school district often produces reports which show that implementation has been completed and successful, in spite of indications from teachers and administrators at particular schools that this is not true. One of the elementary school teachers I interviewed early in the fall highlighted the inherent conflicts in doing authentic fact-finding when one of the goals is ending the presence of the court in the schools:

> She talked about the negative feelings surrounding the suit and said that she wished people would stop putting so much energy into making things look good, but rather would focus on what needs to be improved (fieldnotes, 10/4/91).

Fact–finding, in the context of court monitoring, is particularly complex. At times, finding and articulating the facts is not in the best interest of all parties involved.

Planning/Decision-Making

In my discussion of this process, I will combine aspects of Fishman's and Rubin's models. Fishman provides this description of decision-making:

> Decision-making involves negotiations, compromises, tradeoffs, bargaining...Issues have to be clarified, alternatives considered, costs reckoned, consequences weighed, alliances fashioned, fears assuaged, doubts confirmed or disconfirmed before this process runs its course and the final decision is adopted (1979:13).

Although decision-making in the context of this case can be seen as highly decentralized, there is a perception, particularly among teachers in the system, that most of the decision-making done concerning this case has been done in an extremely top-down fashion. In a conversation with an elementary school principal, she expressed this opinion quite strongly:

> She asked for feedback from my earlier visits and wanted to know how I thought the New Instructional Model looked at her school. She articulated a real frustration in the top-down decision making that occurs in the school district (fieldnotes, 3/5/92).

The two major decisions in this acquisition policy planning case came when the Education Law Center decided to file the lawsuit and when the Advisory Committee decided on components of the Remedial Plan. We will see later in our discussion of iteration how decisions are made at many points in the process, not just before implementation.

Rubin's distinctions between goals, strategies, and outcomes within the planning phase further illuminate Fishman's decision-making category and provide a view into the complexity of this portion of the process. Because there are so many influential actors in this case, goals are multi-layered. Rubin stresses the difficulty in isolating goals: "The setting of goals seems to take place at several levels....Goals are often multiple, hidden, and not well ordered" (1977:284). It would be impossible to determine all of the goals, but even the few listed on the chart show how varied they can be: "end law suit," "provide role models for Asian students." Strategies are often quite connected to goals and are extremely difficult to determine because strategies encapsulate both desired outcomes and the practical constraints of "available materials and human resources" (1977:284). Rubin suggests that outcomes should be outlined in advance as a means of evaluating strategies. However, she contends that this part of the planning (decision-making) process is often omitted, making evaluation difficult.

There are multiple examples of the conflicting nature of stated goals, strategies and outcomes in this case. One goal of the Remedial Plan was to hire bilingual Asian tutors to help students with content material. The strategies outlined were to post these positions at local high schools, universities, and Asian community agencies to attract students who would want part-time jobs. The hope was that the outcomes would include increased academic success of Asian LEP students. However, in determining the success of the program, one sees how the

goal of (1) assisting students with course work versus (2) providing native language instruction are viewed with varying importance by different planners and actors. These multiple goals, which are not necessarily stated initially, complicate the evaluation of strategies and outcomes.

Codification and Elaboration

In Fishman's model, codification and elaboration are two steps in the process of planning before implementation; these two stages are connected. Codification is a "succinct statement of purposes, procedures and resources" (Fishman, 1979:13) and elaboration "goes beyond the letter of codification...in order to recapture intents expressed in the decision-making stage" (1979:14). In the context of *Y.S. v. School District of Philadelphia,* there is a clear example of both of these processes. The "Interim Remedial Agreement" is an example of codification, and the "Remedial Plan" proposed several months later is an example of elaboration.

Implementation

Implementation is the stage in the language planning process when theory is put into practice. After much debate, fact-finding, decision-making, codification, and elaboration, the proposed plan is implemented. In this particular case, there have been several stages of implementation, as the program was gradually implemented at more and more schools. As the 1991-92 school year comes to a close, there are several schools that have been unable to implement the plan fully. At one school, there are no co-taught classes because of scheduling problems and a shortage of teachers. At another, advanced students cannot be scheduled for ESOL because of space constraints. At one high school, a bilingual tutor was finally hired in March after nearly a full year of teachers juggling the tutorial period. As the March 1991 "Judicial Finding of Noncompliance" indicates, implementation has not been a smooth process.

Evaluation

The evaluation process is not as straightforward as it might initially seem. With conflicting interests, those doing the evaluating are apt to focus on, see, and find very different things. Fishman provides a very accurate description of this process:

> Evaluation is very far from being a purely objective and dispassionate affair and contending forces seek to tendentiously influence when it should be done, by whom it should be done, how it should be done and, by means of all the foregoing, what it should find (1979:17).

My own involvement with *Y.S. v. School District of Philadelphia* came directly from the distrust on the part of the plaintiff about what the school district evaluations were showing. I was hired to investigate how the New Instructional Model was functioning. It was hoped that because I did not have an interest in making things look better than they really were, the Education Law Center would know more about where there were difficulties in implementation.

Because of the relationship between acquisition policy planning and litigation in this case, one aspect of evaluation has to do with compliance. Each school fills out compliance "check lists" stating how many tutors are working at the school, how many sheltered classes are being taught, etc. It has become clear that a focus on compliance often overshadows a concern for whether or not particular aspects of the New Instructional Model are effective. Initially, the focus of those evaluating on both sides of the case was on compliance issues. More recently, there has been more of an emphasis on determining effectiveness. It is important to note that evaluation is seen as a key component of implementation for all involved. In fact, the school district includes an appendix in the Remedial Plan called "Remedial Plan Evaluation." It states:

> The Remedial Plan Evaluation will have two distinct phases. The First Year evaluation phase will focus on the implementation of the Plan....The second phase, Second Year and Beyond, will focus on the effects of the Plan on students and teachers. Student achievement, client satisfaction, and records of service will receive primary emphasis (School District of Philadelphia, 1988:K1).

In my own observations and interviews in 11 New Instructional Model schools, I have seen many examples of how an emphasis on compliance overshadows real evaluation. One example comes from the situation surrounding bilingual tutors. Early in the fall, at meetings among Education Law Center representatives, school district representatives and the magistrate, school district representatives discussed the shortage of bilingual tutors; many schools had been unable to find and hire any tutors.

Understanding tutor recruitment became one of the first issues I investigated in my visits to schools. I quickly found that the problem was not finding tutors, but paying tutors. After being hired, most tutors were not officially put on payroll for two to three months. If principals followed the rules exactly, this meant that a tutor hired in September could not begin working until December. As a result, many potential tutors decided to find other jobs. What had originally looked like a problem in finding tutors quickly became a problem in "processing" tutors to begin work. Only after the compliance issue of finding tutors was investigated, could I actually begin to evaluate whether or not tutors were effectively doing their job.

Iteration

Iteration, or "a return to...earlier decision-making" (Fishman, 1979:18) is a very important aspect of language planning. Decisions are still being made concerning how to best meet the linguistic needs of the Asian refugee population in Philadelphia, even after nearly two years of implementing the New Instructional Model. In fact, in an April 1992 document, the Education Law Center submitted recommendations for the next academic year which would require additional decision-making. One example concerns changes recommended in the elementary school model:

> Allow a few elementary schools to choose to participate in experimenting with...changes to the elementary model. Group students by ESOL level in ungraded clusters, allowing for a more self-contained approach. Grades 1-4 would be grouped together by level, as would grades 5-8. As students became more fluent in English and were performing at grade level, they could be moved into age-appropriate classes. This change would actually mirror some of the positive effects of sheltered/co-taught classes within the middle school model (Skilton, 1992:7).

Another example is a recommendation to reduce or potentially eliminate bilingual tutors at the elementary level and to increase tutors at the high school level where they appear to be most effective:

> Offer each elementary school the option to decide whether bilingual tutors are needed, and if so, how many. Insure the placement of other bilingual staff (counseling assistants, home/school coordinators, etc.) in elementary schools. Use resources not needed at the elementary level to further enhance bilingual instructional support at the high school level (Skilton, 1992:3).

These two examples are interesting because they also further decentralize the language planning process; they would allow particular schools to assess their interests and needs and to determine whether or not to modify the model at their schools. If the school district agreed to these two recommendations, it would also be a move away from the top-down processes that have been characteristic of decision-making of this system. At this point, decisions about how instructional models could change will ultimately come through negotiation among the school district, the Education Law Center, the Advisory Committee, and the magistrate.

Language Planners and Actors

Clearly, there are multiple planners and actors involved in the acquisition policy planning which has resulted from *Y.S. v. School District of Philadelphia*. As I attempted to see how Rubin's and Fishman's models could illuminate the processes of this particular case, I found it most useful to isolate the major planners and actors at each stage in the process. I see planners as those who have the power to make or strongly influence decisions, and actors as those are less directly involved in the decision-making process. Outlining one planning body overall seemed to cloud the fact that particular planners and actors played perhaps a prominent role in "decision-making" and a much less prominent role in "iteration." It is clear that the major planners include lawyers on both sides, school district officials, the Advisory Committee, outside consultants, and the magistrate. It is also possible to see teachers, parents, community groups, and even Y.S. himself as major actors in the planning process.

Language Planning at the Micro Level

Viewing this language planning case in the context of Fishman's and Rubin's models has illuminated many aspects of language planning at the local level. Seeing the "governing body" as the school district and not a national government worked well. As Bamgbose contends, there may be situations in which this weakens an understanding of the process. However, I believe that using the models at the micro level clarifies the processes involved in language planning cases that have already begun and could also serve to aid acquisition policy planners during the beginning of the planning process.

Pros & Cons Of The Litigation—Acquisition Policy Planning Connection

Throughout my own involvement with this case, I have struggled to understand the positive and negative influence of litigation on language planning processes. It is clear that the connection is not always a positive one. As Ruiz states:

> Terms like "compliance," "enforcement," "entitlement," "requirements," and "protection" create an automatic resistance to whatever one is talking about. Their use creates confrontation. Confrontation is what the legal process is all about (1984:24).

There is certainly an air of confrontation on opposing sides of this lawsuit. However, both sides agree that if the case had actually gone to trial, there would have been an even more confrontational atmosphere to the acquisition policy planning that has taken place.

Bob Lear, the lawyer for the school district, outlined some of the negative influences of the law on this kind of policy making:

> Planning is often a crisis reaction, not proactive planning. It would be better if done from the bottom-up, but it needs to be imposed in a crisis situation....Litigation forces you to make a plan and make it quick (personal communication, 4/1/92).

Len Rieser of the Education Law Center also commented on some of the negative aspects of litigation in the context of a large and bureaucratic school system. The relationship between the process of litigation and a system whose structure does not allow much flexibility makes substantial iteration difficult. As he states:

> It makes it hard to undo decisions. Once something is resolved, it is resolved. The School District is no longer responsive to needs; it is responsive to the court. It seems that everything militates against flexible, informed decision-making....It is amazing how broad the web is to do an essentially simple thing. It seems like a huge mountain is attempting to deliver a pea (personal communication, 9/24/92).

Many administrators and teachers are glad to see that Asian students are being served but point to the many needs of other groups of students. Some principals resent being mandated to do scheduling in particular ways because they have many constituencies to respond to; in this particular case, they are not free to

make other projects a priority without repercussions. One principal outlined the positive and negative aspects of the current situation:

> This principal believes that the New Instructional Model has been a huge success and not difficult to implement. He only wishes that other students could get the same kind of attention in the system (fieldnotes, 12/6/91).

One teacher expressed a strong sentiment that the decisions being made in the school district concerning Asian students were highly discriminatory:

> She has some real complaints about the lawsuit and how the school district is making decisions....She thinks it is wonderful that the district sees the needs of Asian children but that the current program discriminates against Latino children. She thinks that it is a disgrace that tax dollars are funding this program (fieldnotes, 12/4/91).

Of course, there are some benefits as well. Both Len Rieser and Janet Scotland of the Education Law Center strongly believe that the lawsuit allowed for some extremely positive shifts and changes in personnel. They believe that the suit allowed good people to be in positions to influence planning decisions in the school district. They "didn't want [the] court to make substantive decisions" and wanted "language planning by people who know something about language" (personal communication, 3/9/92). Bob Lear also had something to say about potential benefits from the role of litigation in this situation: "Litigation speeded up the process and made a real focus on Southeast Asians" (personal communication, 4/1/92).

Overall, teachers seem to feel good about the changes brought on by the suit. Many were in a position of watching students fail without the power to substantially change the situation. One teacher clearly stated that the law suit had provided an opportunity to provide better services for students learning English:

> When I asked about the New Instructional Model, she said she felt that the law suit had provided the opportunity for much needed positive change for LEP students. She added that she felt that she was not the only teacher who felt this way (fieldnotes, 10/28/91).

I did encounter many teachers who felt similarly about this.

The connection between litigation and parental/community involvement is interesting because it is difficult to place in a completely positive or negative light. Although there were three sets of parents involved in the original filing of the suit, all

three families dropped out of the case before the "Remedial Plan" was created. It is important to see their withdrawal from the suit in a cultural context:

> [Asian] parents are both concerned and involved with their children's education. However, because of the respect they have traditionally accorded to educators,...[they] are often reluctant to intervene in the education of their children, even when they may be dissatisfied (Suzuki, 1983:10).

Viewing the withdrawal of parents from this perspective, one might conclude that much needed changes occurred as a result of the litigation which would not have happened if parents were pressuring the school outside of the legal system. On the other hand, one could question whether or not the litigation was what the parents wanted, and question whether the fact that the case continued without them is in conflict with their interests.

In my opinion, the first explanation is a more accurate understanding of the parents' point of view. Many parents seem pleased with the changes, particularly with the additional staff at the school who speak Asian languages. In addition, when the parents withdrew from the case, many Asian teachers, other Asian parents, and Asian community groups (i.e., the Southeast Asian Mutual Assistance Associations Coalition (SEAMAAC) and Asian Americans United) were consulted throughout the process. Overall, it seems that Asian communities are pleased with what has come out of the litigation, although the process of litigating against schools may not be compatible with traditional relationships to schools within Asian communities.

To me, one of the biggest drawbacks of the connection between litigation and acquisition policy planning concerns the orientations to language planning that it promotes. It seems to encompass the "language as problem" and "language as right" orientations, but works against the "language as resource" orientation. Although there is a short paragraph in the "Remedial Plan" which offers the possibility of native language classes being offered at schools with a substantial population from one language group, even this statement calls for native language instruction solely as an aid in English acquisition:

> The literature on second language acquisition indicates that literacy in the student's first language significantly affects the ease and rapidity with which a student will acquire...a second language. Schools with at least 25 students of the same language group at a single site will offer first language literacy programs as part of their extra-curricular program offerings if the appropriate number of students exists and interest in such study is evident (School District of Philadelphia, 1988:23).

Len Rieser confirmed (personal communication, 4/1/92) that no such class has ever been offered. Although their are individuals I have encountered in the School District of Philadelphia who embrace a resource orientation, the overriding emphasis is on the acquisition of functional English. One administrator articulated this sentiment as he explained:

> My personal feeling and that of many administrators with whom I work is that a second language and cultural diversity are resources which enrich the system. However, there is a practical emphasis on functional English acquisition and an attitude held by many people in the community that "Why do we want bilingual Asians? Their language is not being used or learned by others in the United States" (personal communication, 10/6/92)

If parents or community groups lobbied for a more resource-oriented program, their influence might push the typical orientations within litigation policy away from "right" and "problem" orientations. (The Latino community has been able to do this in some cases because of collective political power and a desire for language maintenance.) It seems that many Asian parents and community groups do not view the public school system as the place for native-language instruction. Certainly there is a long history in the United States of after school programs for Chinese immigrants (Chan & Tsang, 1983:44) and more recently Korean immigrants (Byun, 1990) outside of the public schools.

In spite of drawbacks in terms of "orientation," it is clear that Asian students are being better served today than they were in 1985 when the suit was filed. Because they are a relatively small (although growing) population, their interests and needs would not have been addressed in specific ways if there had not been litigation. No doubt, it would have taken many more years to devote resources to hiring bilingual Asian tutors, teachers, and staff, and the district would have

remained much less knowledgeable about the Asian communities which it serves. It is for this reason that I agree with August and Garcia's concluding statement:

> [U.S. courts] have obligated both local and state educational agencies to meet the needs of language minority students. Moreover, because the courts are not constrained by numbers of affected constituents, they have provided a forum in which minority status is not disadvantageous and as such have protected the rights of language minority students. However, it has been a forum which is highly ritualized, extremely time and resource consuming, and always reluctant (1989:71).

For now, the connection between litigation and acquisition policy planning is a necessary and valuable, although not perfect, marriage.

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Appendix A

Excerpts from "Proposed Remedial Agreement" (School District of Philadelphia, 1988)

Elementary School Instructional Model

The proposed elementary school instructional model incorporates four levels of ESOL. The amount of daily instruction in ESOL is as follows:

ESOL level 1 - 135 minutes daily or 3 periods daily
ESOL level 2 - 135 minutes daily or 3 periods daily
ESOL level 3 - 90 minutes daily or 2 periods daily
ESOL level 4 - 45 minutes daily or 1 period daily

Level 1 ESOL (students with no literacy skills in their native language and English)

135 minutes of ESOL instruction daily: 90 minutes will be ESOL instruction (Listening, Speaking, Reading and Writing in English) and 45 minutes of bilingual instructional support.

Level 1 ESOL students should be monitored carefully so that they can be moved to ESOL level 2 or referred for special services if they qualify.

Level 2 ESOL (students with limited English literacy or literacy in their native language but no proficiency in English)

135 minutes of ESOL instruction daily: 90 minutes of English literacy (Listening, Speaking, Reading, and Writing) and 45 minutes of bilingual instructional support.

Level 3 ESOL (students who have developed some English literacy and proficiency)

90 minutes of ESOL instruction daily (Reading, Writing, Speaking and Listening), 60 minutes of English literacy (Reading, Writing, Speaking and Listening) and 30 minutes of bilingual instructional support.

Level 4 ESOL (students with fairly well developed English literacy and sustained proficiency in English)

45 minutes of ESOL instruction daily (Reading and Writing)

Middle School Instructional Model

The middle school model is based on an eight (8) period instructional day for the student. The student's ESOL level generally determines the instructional program the student will follow.

Level 1 ESOL

* Three periods of ESOL (basic literacy: Reading, Writing, Speaking, Listening)
* One period American Culture Orientation (taught by ESOL teacher)
* One period Orientation to Mathematics (co-taught by mathematics or elementary classroom teacher and ESOL teacher)
* One period of bilingual instructional support (mandatory tutorial)
* One period lunch
* Five periods distributed throughout the week and covering Physical and Health Education, the Arts, Home Economics and Industrial Arts.

Level 2 ESOL

* Two periods of ESOL (Reading, Writing, Speaking, Listening)
* One period of Science/ESOL (taught by ESOL teacher)
* One period of Social Studies/ESOL (taught by ESOL teacher)
* One period of Mathematics (may be sheltered or regular)
* One period bilingual instructional support (mandatory tutorial)
* One period lunch
* Five periods distributed throughout the week and covering Physical and Health Education, Home Economics and Industrial Arts, Music, Art and Computer Science.

Level 3 ESOL

* Two periods of ESOL (Reading, Writing, Speaking, Listening)
* One period of sheltered class Science
* One period of sheltered class Social Studies
* One period of sheltered class Mathematics
* One period of bilingual instructional support (mandatory tutorial)
* One period of lunch
* Five periods distributed throughout the week and covering Physical and Health Education, Home Economics and Industrial Arts, Art, Music and any electives offered at the school.

Level 4 ESOL

* One period of ESOL
* One period of Mathematics
* One period of Science
* One period of Social Studies
* One period of lunch

- One period of Electives
- Five periods distributed throughout the week and covering Physical and Health Education, Art, Music, Home Economics and Industrial Arts, and any electives offered at the school
- One period Developmental Reading

At the level 4 ESOL, students may be in sheltered content area classes or mainstreamed classes depending upon the students performance.

Senior High School Instructional Model

The senior high school model is based on a seven (7) period instructional day for the student. The student's ESOL level generally determines the instructional program the student will follow.

Level 1 ESOL

- Two periods of ESOL
- One period of bilingual instructional support (mandatory tutorial)
- One period Orientation to Mathematics (co-taught by a certified mathematics teacher and an ESOL teacher)
- One period American Culture Orientation (taught by the ESOL teacher)
- One period lunch
- One period Physical Education (half year)
- One period Art, Music or Humanities (half year)

Level 2 ESOL

- One period ESOL
- One period of bilingual instructional support (mandatory tutorial)
- One period ESOL/Physical Science (co-taught by certified science teacher and an ESOL teacher)
- One period ESOL/Social Studies: World History (co-taught by a certified social studies teacher and an ESOL teacher)
- One period of Mathematics: General Mathematics or Algebra
- One period Physical Education (half year)
- One period Humanities (half year)
- One period lunch

Level 3 ESOL

- One period of ESOL
- One period of bilingual instructional support (mandatory tutorial)
- One period of sheltered class Biology
- One period of sheltered class American History
- One period General Mathematics 2, Algebra or Geometry
- One period Physical Education (half year)
- One period of sheltered class Health Education (half year)
- One period lunch

Level 4 ESOL

- One period of ESOL
- One period Geometry, Algebra 2, Mathematics in Application or any other appropriate Mathematics
- One period Computer Science
- One period Chemistry, Science 3 (Science Applications)

- One period Social Science
- One period Physical Education (half year)
- One period Health Education (half year)
- One period lunch

Extra-curricular tutorial support shall be made available for such students requiring or desiring assistance.

Appendix B

FISHMAN (1979)

PROCESSES	Y.S. v. SCHOOL DISTRICT OF PHILA.	PLANNERS (ACTORS)
DECISION-MAKING	DEC 1985, lawsuit filed	(Education Law Center & Plaintiff)
	Several solutions debated (1987/88)	Advisory Committee
CODIFICATION	FEB 1988- Interim Remedial Agreement	Office of Curriculum and Instruction
ELABORATION	DEC 1988- Remedial Plan/New Instructional Models	School District Advisory Committee (3 members plaintiff, 3 members school district)
IMPLEMENTATION	SPRING 1989, 3 pilot schools	Office of Language Minority Programs (ESOL Supervisors), Principals, Teachers
	1989/90, several additional schools	
	1990/91, all 33 schools with many Asians	
EVALUATION	Ongoing	School District, Law Center, Advisory Committee
	MARCH 1991- Judicial Finding of Noncompliance	Law Center (Judge)
ITERATION	Ongoing	Magistrate, Law Center, School District
	APRIL 1992- Recommendations for 1992/93	Law Center

RUBIN (1971)

PROCESSES	Y.S. v. SCHOOL DISTRICT OF PHILA.	PLANNERS (ACTORS)
FACT-FINDING	1984/85- Complaints	(Parents/Teachers) Law Center
	AUG 1987- 352 facts published about problems in district--100's of students failing, bilingual services inadequate, etc.	Experts-CAL, Newcomer HS, Illinois Resource Center; Community Groups, Academics, School District Curriculum People, Teachers, Assoc. Superintendent
	1991/92, continued fact-finding during implementation	Law Center, School District
PLANNING (goals, strategies, outcomes)	Goals--provide equal opportunity	School District, Law Center
	End law suit	School District
	Provide role models for Asian kids/sense of pride about being Asian	Advisory Committee (Law Center, some teachers)
	Strategies--write letters, file suit	(Law Center)
	put resources aside, hire bilingual staff, form Asian Task Force, etc.	School District
	Outcomes--school success for Asians	School District
IMPLEMENTATION	SPRING 1989, 3 pilot schools	Office of Language Minority Programs (ESOL Supervisors), Principals, Teachers
	1989/90, several additional schools	
	1990/91, all 33 schools with many Asians	

FEEDBACK (Evaluation throughout)	Ongoing	Magistrate, Law Center, School District, Advisory Committee
	MARCH 1991- Judicial finding of Noncompliance	Law Center (Judge)
	APRIL 1992- Recommendations for 1992/93	Law Center

"The proper way to pray"[1]
Description of a Korean-American youth service prayer

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A youth pastor's prayer was analyzed using techniques of microanalysis to reveal sociocompetencies required of Korean American teenagers in a youth church service. It was found that the markers of context within a service included changes in discourse, prosody, posture and body movements. The teenagers, who with the youth pastor responded to and created the context, strove to maintain "proper" prayer behavior even with the intrusion of a cat.

Introduction

> Children and adults, in order to know whatever they need to know in order to operate in a manner acceptable to others in society (Goodenough,1957) need to know what forms of verbal and nonverbal behavior are appropriate in what social contexts (Erickson & Shultz, 1981:147).

In all contexts there is a proper way to behave, known to the participants through gradual socialization processes, and often revealed to the observer when the rules are broken. Through microanalysis of interaction in a stylized segment of behavior, we can see that an attempt to identify sociocompetencies in a learning environment should include not only the verbal cues but also the non-verbal. This study looks at the discourse, prosody, and body movements that occurred in a prayer in a Korean-American youth church service and attempts to identify some of the sociocompetencies required of the youths and the youth pastor in a highly stylized setting.

Markers of Context

According to Erickson and Shultz, knowing how to act in a situation requires recognizing the situation for what it is. In this case, a prayer is distinguished by different behavior from the sermon which precedes it and the offering and singing which followed after it.

> The production of appropriate social behavior from moment to moment requires knowing what context one is in and when contexts change as well as knowing what behavior is considered appropriate in each of those contexts. We think that the capacity for monitoring contexts must be an essential feature of social competence: the capacity to assess when a context is as well as what it is (1981:147).

The task of the microethnographer is to describe that context and the behaviors that shape and maintain the context. The ideas of Goffman (1981), Pike (1967), and Erickson (1981; 1982; 1986) were used in this study to analyze the markers of change in context, the ways that the participants maintain the activity, or interact with others.

Markers of a new segment are called "a change in footing" by Goffman (1981:128) and "a new segment" by Pike (1967:74). The elements defining them are the same, including changes in posture; audience; pitch, volume, rhythm, stress, and tonal quality; and language (code-switching). Any of these could be present while a "change of gears" (Goffman 1981:126) takes place.

The idea of "footing" brings to bear several important questions concerning the complexity in the notions of speaker and listener. When describing a language situation, there is the possibility of having more than one type of speaker and listener. Hymes delineates two possible types of speakers. One is the originator of the message–the speaker or sender; the second is the one who gives or delivers the message (1974:56). There is also the possibility of having more than one type of listener. First is the hearer, or receiver, or audience; and second is the addressee. Having two categories of possible speakers and listeners basically allows for the "middle man."

Goffman also delineates the complexities involved in the notion of speaker-hearer. "Audiences" can differ in their proximity to the speaker in numbers compared with the speaker(s), and in whether or not what was said was intended for them to hear (ratified or not, intentional or not). The term "speaker" must also allow for more than one person talking with another. The speaker is not always the originator of the words, as in a play, or often in a president's speech.

The teenagers in a Korean-American youth church service recognize changes in footing and know how to behave during the different segments of the service. They are expected and allowed certain verbal and non-verbal behavior before the service begins. These differ from those expected and allowed while the service is in progress. In a detailed description of one segment of the service, the observer would see that their behavior changed with the context, and the context changed with their behavior; the rules that govern their behavior sustained the activity even with an interruption. The segment under analysis is a prayer by the youth pastor immediately following his sermon. The intrusion of a cat during the prayer made the event different from any other prayer either on that day or any other time. How the teenagers and the youth pastor maintained the routine speech event of prayer during this potential interruption is the subject of this paper.

Study

A Korean-American youth church service was videotaped and then analyzed using the techniques of videorecording and microanalysis suggested by Erickson (1981; 1982; 1986). The youth pastor agreed to allow his service to be videotaped so that I could analyze interaction in the church setting. The recorder was set up before the service began and was left running without an operator throughout the service until most of the people had left the room. Positioned in the doorway, it faced the teenagers and caught a profile of the youth pastor.

After delineating the major segments of the service, I chose to focus on a prayer because it is a highly stylized part of all the services (youth or adult) that occur in this church. The the words of the youth pastor and the major body movements of all the teenagers (and the cat) during the prayer and surrounding seconds were transcribed and then put to musical notation to give an idea of the rhythm sustained or broken during the prayer (Appendix B: Micro Chart).

The church service took place on a Sunday afternoon in mid-March from 2:30 to 3:30. The teenagers met as usual in a basement room in the church simultaneously with the adult church service held in the main sanctuary upstairs. There was one window in the room and one door. The teenagers sat in three rows of chairs which faced a desk that had been pushed back to the wall and a blackboard. In addition, there was a music stand, which was used for a podium by the youth pastor. On the day of the recording, there were two girls absent who usually sat in the front row. In their absence, four boys sat in the front row (Appendix A: Figure 1), and all the girls sat

behind them: five in the second row, two in the third row. Since no one operated the camera, there were a total of twelve people in the room: including eleven teenagers and the youth pastor.

The teenagers are Korean-American between the ages of 12 and 18, who have been in the U.S. for varying lengths of time; some were born in Korea, others in the U.S. They are all bilingual in Korean and English, except for a brother and a sister who do not understand or speak Korean well enough to carry on a conversation in Korean or to understand a sermon in that language. This may be the reason that the youth pastor led the service in English, including prayers, sermon, and announcements. The only time Korean was used as part of the service (apart from the teenagers talking among themselves) was in the second verse of a song.

During the prayer that followed the sermon, a black cat came into the room. Since the door and window were shut, it was a complete surprise (and for a while a mystery) that the cat got in. Although some of the teenagers had seen this cat outside the church building, they had never seen it inside. The cat roamed around the room from the time of the prayer until the end of the service.

Segments of the service

The youth church service consists of several parts or segments which can be viewed etically, or emically. When I watched the video, I noticed fourteen parts. However, when I asked the youth pastor to list the parts of a church service he only listed twelve (Table 1).

Table 1: Parts of the Youth Service

Researcher	Youth Pastor
singing	singing
prayer	prayer
singing	singing
reading scripture	reading scripture
singing	singing
prayer by a teenager	prayer by a teenager
singing	singing
prayer	
sermon	sermon
prayer	
offering with singing	singing
prayer	offering with singing
announcements	announcements
prayer	prayer

The list by the youth pastor differs from mine in that I put the prayer before and after the sermon as separate parts of the service. I had decided to focus my attention on the prayer that followed the sermon, so I was surprised to find that the youth pastor did not mention the prayer. I asked him if he prayed after his sermon, and he answered, "yes." I asked him if the prayer was considered part of his sermon, and he replied:

> Yeah, I pray before and after my sermon; depends on how I feel. Sometimes it's appropriate to pray; sometimes I don't have to pray. I mean I try to get away from this one after another thing constantly, so even with those things [order of service] I switch.

Since there was a discrepancy in the segmentation, I asked two teenagers (who were participants in the video) to list from memory the parts of a youth church service. They said, "sing, pray, read the Bible, sing pray, sermon, sing during offering, pray, announcements, and pray." [2] They also did not distinguish the prayer that follows the sermon as a separate part of the service (Table 2).

Table 2: Parts of the Youth Service According to Teenagers

Researcher	Youth Pastor	Teenagers
singing	singing	singing
prayer	prayer	prayer
singing	singing	
reading scripture	reading scripture	reading scripture
singing	singing	singing
prayer by a teenager	prayer by a teenager	prayer
singing	singing	
prayer		
sermon	sermon	sermon
prayer		
offering with singing	singing	offering with singing
prayer	offering with singing	prayer
announcements	announcements	announcements
prayer	prayer	prayer

Discussion

A microanalysis of the prayer within the context of what preceded and followed it indicated that there was a connection with and a contrast to the sermon conclusion. The connection and the contrast were marked in discourse, posture and body movements, and prosody.

The prayer followed the conclusion of the sermon (Figure 1). The youth pastor finished his sermon on "Why do bad things happen to good people?" with a rhetorical question, "Is there no answer for this, does God not care?". Then he mentioned that he would pick up on this topic in the sermon the following week.

Figure 1: Sermon Conclusion

Is there no answer for this[3]
does God not care
ahm
just hold that thought
I'm gonna take off on that next week
and I'm
of course I'm gonna say
yes God does care
and you'll see
that God loves you more than anything else
at this point sounds ridiculous
but you'll see
that God is above all these
that God cares for us
above more than anybody else
and that all these kind of distressing events
ev
despite all these
you'll see that God loves you
let's pray

"Let's pray" marked the switch from sermon to prayer. The postural shifts that occurred immediately after "let's pray" indicate that the prayer was a new segment requiring different behavior on the part of the speaker and the listeners. At the same time, however, the prayer was part of the sermon. Following (Figure 2) is a transcript of the prayer which will be referred to throughout the rest of the paper.

In some ways the prayer can be seen as a continuation of the sermon. The fact that the youth pastor and the teenagers did not mention the sermon final prayer as a separate part of the service suggests that they considered that prayer a part of the sermon, sometimes included and other times not.

In addition, the youth pastor's words in concluding the sermon are mirrored in the prayer. Table 3 compares some of the phrases in the sermon conclusion with the words in the prayer. The youth pastor repeated the content as well as the words. His main point in the sermon conclusion was that God is in control, and although we may

be confused now, we will be able to see in the future that God loves us. This was also the main idea of the prayer.

Figure 2: The Prayer

Let's pray
dear lord
thank you for loving us
despite all these terrible things
I guess what's so
what's even more great about you is that
even through these
we can see your love
sounds ridiculous I know
and lot of us here probably think that way
and yet help us to trust you
and help us to wait
a little longer
to see your providence
to see your working out
and help us
to see that
even though things look bad at this point
even things look
bad at this point
pray that you would help us to realize that uh
you're in control
in Jesus name
amen

Table 3: Comparison of Sermon and Prayer

Sermon	Prayer
at this point sounds ridiculous	sounds ridiculous I know
and that all these kind of distressing events	to see that even though things look bad at this point
ev ("even")	even things look bad at this point
despite all these	
you'll see	we can see your love
that God loves you more than anything else	
despite all these	despite all these terrible things

However, in volume, posture, and body movements, the participants "do" the prayer differently than they "do" the sermon. In contrast with the actual discourse, the changes of gears mark a new segment (Erickson & Shultz, 1981; Pike, 1967). The youth pastor said, "let's pray," and there was a long pause. His next statement, "dear Lord," was much lower in volume. As Heath notes in her discussion of prayer in the Roadville community, it is as if this "public" prayer is not meant to be heard (1983:217). The volume was so low that it was difficult to hear the words to make a transcription.

Another strong indicator of the transition from sermon to prayer was posture. Immediately after the youth pastor said, "Let's pray," the teenagers shifted from the general posture of heads up and eyes looking ahead, to heads bowed with eyes closed. The youth pastor changed his position as well. He moved his hands from the stand and clasped them behind his back. The boy in the front row (Appendix A: Figure 2, B-2) made the most dramatic change in synchrony with the youth pastor. The youth pastor's hands went behind his back between the time when he said, "Let's pray", and, "dear lord". At the same moment, the boy lowered his hand from his face to his knees and bent his head down to his knees. Within the same tenth of a second, the youth pastor's hands clasped and boy 2's head bowed to its lowest point (Appendix B: Micro Chart, Seconds 47-48). The teenagers and the youth pastor more or less maintained their positions throughout the prayer (depending on their interaction with the cat, the youth pastor's prosody and pauses, and the movements of others). Just as posture indicates the beginning and end of the prayer, staying in posture (or coming back to the posture before the end) indicates a shared knowledge of the rules of behavior for praying. Eyes should be closed, head bent forward, and hands together below the head. There are rules of behavior unique to this segment. The teenagers showed their sociocompetency by complying with them, even when a cat walked in.

A black cat entered and strolled among the teenagers eighteen seconds after the youth pastor had begun the prayer. At first only one girl (G-2) showed that she had noticed the cat. She looked up from her prayer position, smiled, and watched the cat as it walked between the legs of a boy (B-4) and past the boys in the front row. (I couldn't see if B-4 reacted, since he was partly hidden from the camera). As the cat passed the three boys in the front row, they did not look up; it seemed that they hadn't noticed it. However, when it passed back in front of them one at a time, they looked up and at the cat. One boy (B-2) showed his surprise overtly by pulling back his head quickly when he saw the cat. He continued to look around, first behind him at the girl (G-2) (who had first seen the cat and laughed quietly), then behind his other shoulder

at the window. His head went back to his hands immediately before the youth pastor said, "amen."

The youth pastor's words during the prayer as well as the major body movements of the teenagers fell into a rhythm which was sustained except for a pause when the boys were moving around, which temporarily broke the rhythm. This is shown in the musical notation on the microchart. The rhythm was found by placing the beat on the accented syllables and the major body motions. I found that the youth pastor's accented syllables, as well as when he came in again after a pause, often fell on a beat simultaneous with major body movements of the teenagers. This synchrony is an indicator of listener-speaker collaboration.

In addition to the timed synchrony, it is evident that the youth pastor was aware of his listeners' extra movement. He didn't see the cat until after the prayer. During the time the boys in the front row were looking at the cat, the youth pastor stumbled in his prayer, repeating his words (bold-faced segments) which he hasn't done before in this prayer, falling out of rhythm, and pausing noticeably. He was seemingly distracted by the boys, not by the cat.

and help us
to see that
even though things look bad at this point
even things look
bad at this point
pray that you would help us to realize that uh
you're in control
in Jesus name
amen

He got back into the rhythm, however, by the time he said, "You're in control," before ending the prayer.

Between the sermon and the prayer, there was also a change in speaker and audience. In the prayer, we need to ask who the youth pastor was talking to. Who was his primary audience: God? the teenagers? the video equipment? or someone who may be listening standing outside in the hall? This is a relevant question, because one of the markers of a change in footing is a change in speaker and audience. For example, before the prayer, the youth pastor used the pronouns "I" to refer to himself and "you" to refer to the teenagers. During the prayer, he switched to "we" and "us" to refer to himself and the teenagers, and to "you" when referring to God. The teenagers,

as well as the youth pastor were included as speakers. The prayer was from all of them.

Even though the primary audience was no longer the teenagers, the youth pastor still interacted with the teenagers during the prayer. He showed his awareness of their movements just as their movements showed their awareness of his pauses. As Erickson writes, "To talk is to listen–to attend, by watching and hearing, to what the audience is doing from moment to moment" (1986:315). And here, though the participants had their eyes closed in an effort to shut out the others in the room and focused on their intended audience (God) the speaker still attended to what the teenagers were doing.

In the youth service prayer, the interaction was not between two interlocutors but between a speaker and an audience. The teenagers were more like a group of people listening to a lecture, or a music concert. In prayers before and after the sermon, and in the sermon itself, the role of the youth pastor was orator; the role of the audience was to appreciate remarks made, not to reply in any direct way. They were to conjure up what a reply might be but not utter it. As Goffman writes, "And when talk comes from the podium, what does the hearing is an audience, not a set of fellow conversationalists....Indeed, and fundamentally, the role of the audience is to appreciate remarks made, not to reply in any direct way" (1981:137-138).

Conclusion

The activity of prayer was sustained through continuous rhythm, body posture and motion despite entrance of the cat. The teenagers, by their posture and movements, showed that the prayer is uninterruptible; though it is disturbed, it is not broken. The fact that a boy on the front row (Appendix A, Figure 1, B-3) reached out to pet the cat but drew his hand back in to the other hand (Appendix B: Micro Chart, Seconds 43-47), and the fact that all the teenagers resumed "prayer position" before the word "amen" are evidences of a norm. When the order broke down with the intrusion of the cat and the teenagers did repair, we (observers) got an insight into what the order is.

Learning in any context involves sociocompetencies. This research showed that the sociocompetencies required of children in an instructional setting (such as in a church service) depend on not only the verbal but also the nonverbal. Words are only a contextual part of an event. As Erickson and Shultz point out, redundancy of cues

that something new is happening (that the prayer is beginning) allows for everyone to get the message–to perform correctly (1981:150).

What is required to perform competently in a group activity can be identified through microanalysis. Research that attempts to describe sociocompetencies required or performed by children in any setting needs to include as many avenues of behavior as possible–verbal, posture, gaze, rhythm, etc. An adequate description of a speech event would be incomplete if it does not account for the redundancy of cues.

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[1] Title is from a poem learned in childhood. Author unknown.

[2] When the youth pastor looked at this list, he said, "these aren't wrong, sometimes I do it that way."

[3] The lines of transcription mark a breath utterance, with pauses of varying lengths following each line.

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Appendix A

Figure I

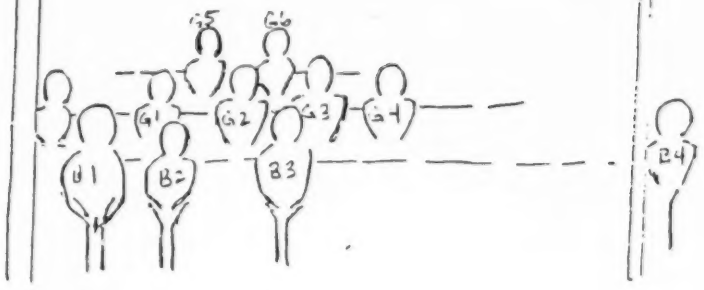
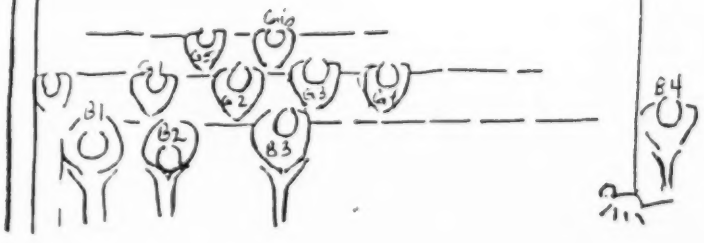
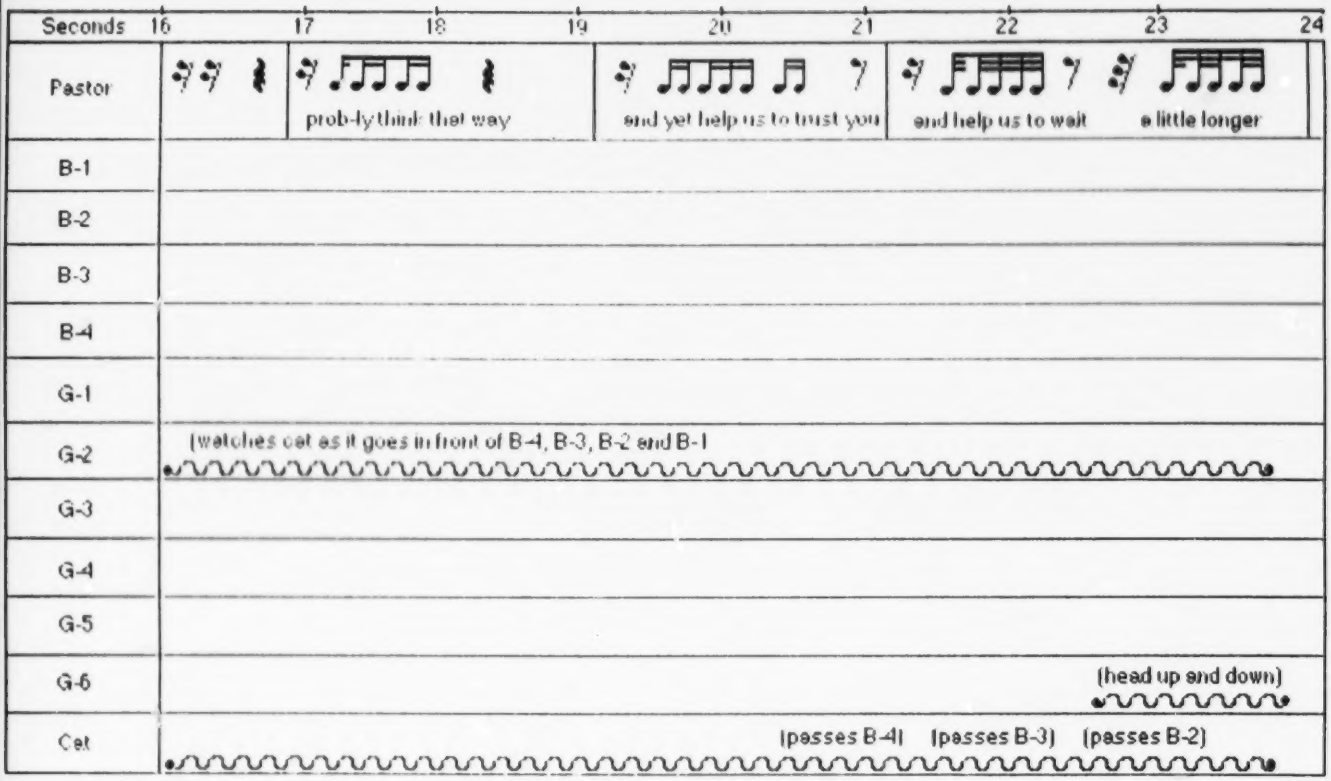


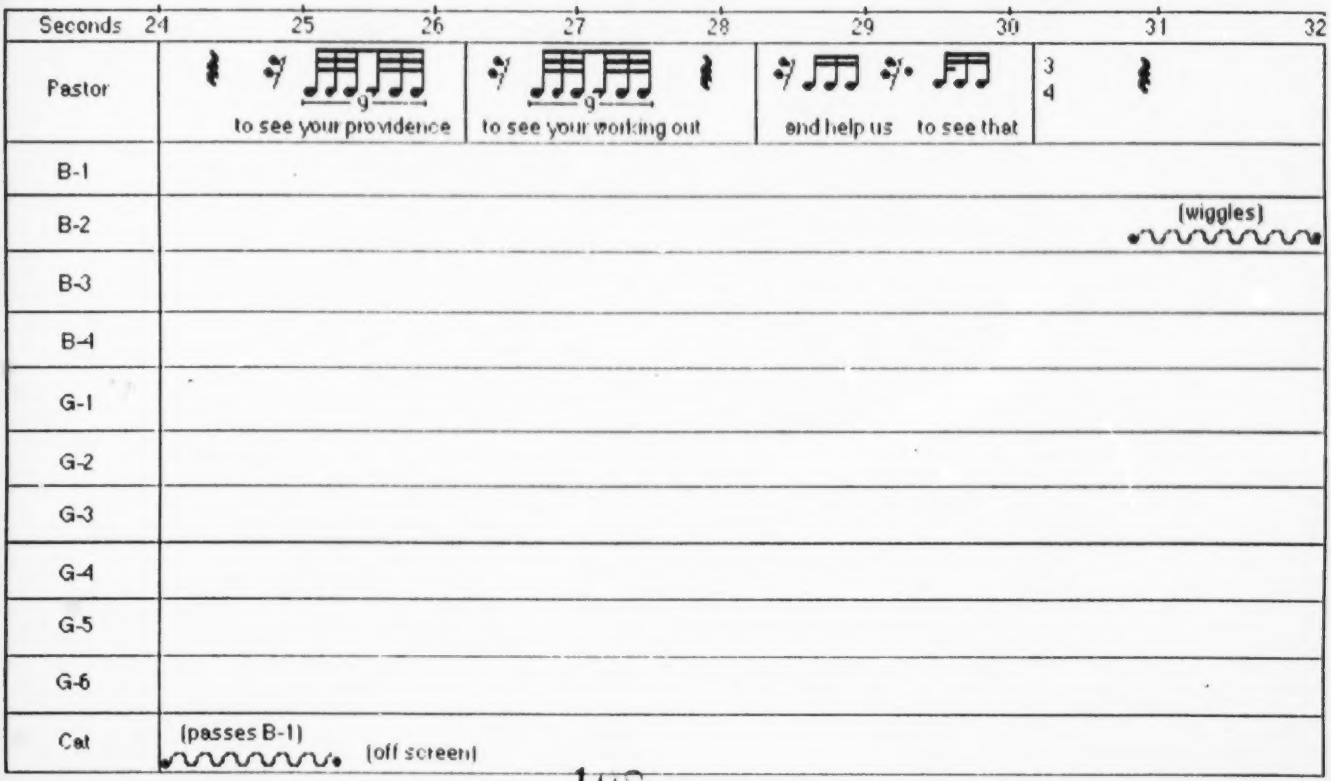
Figure 2

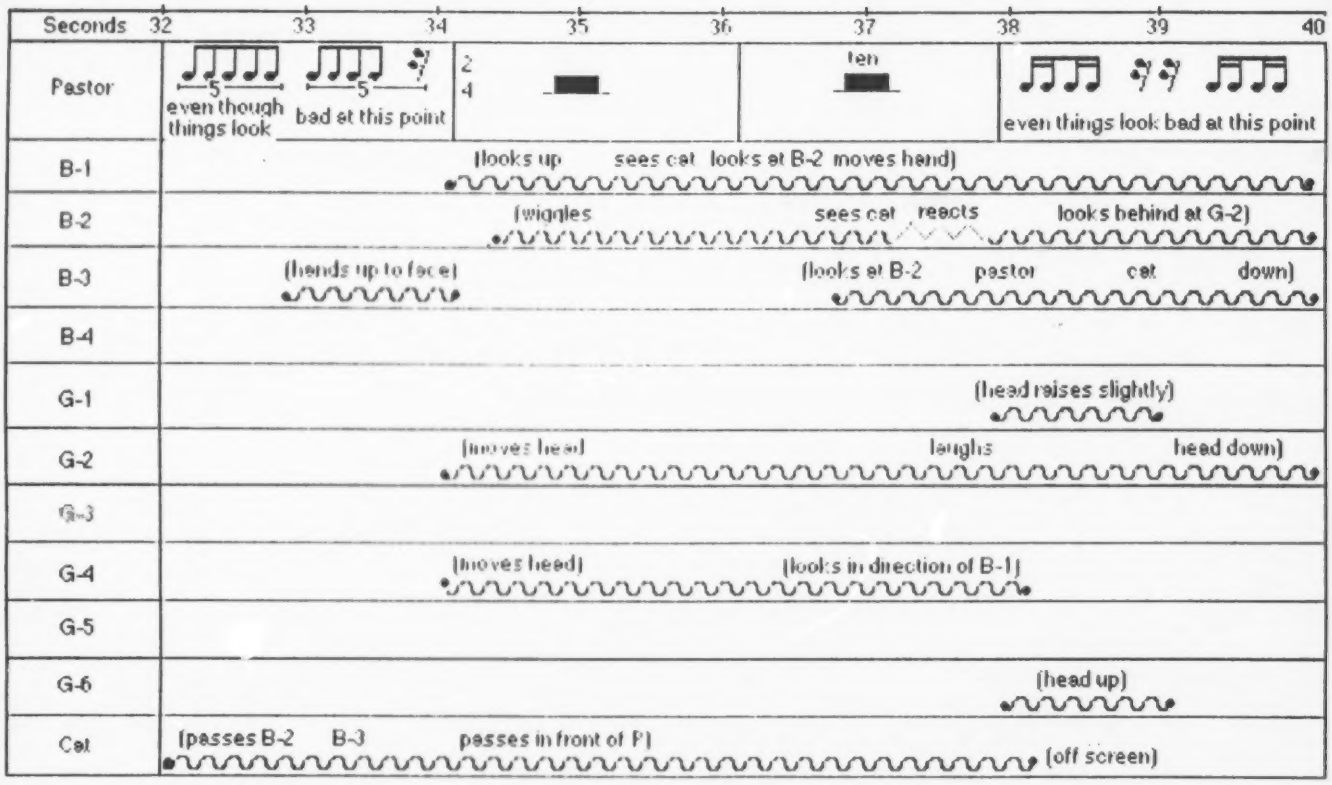


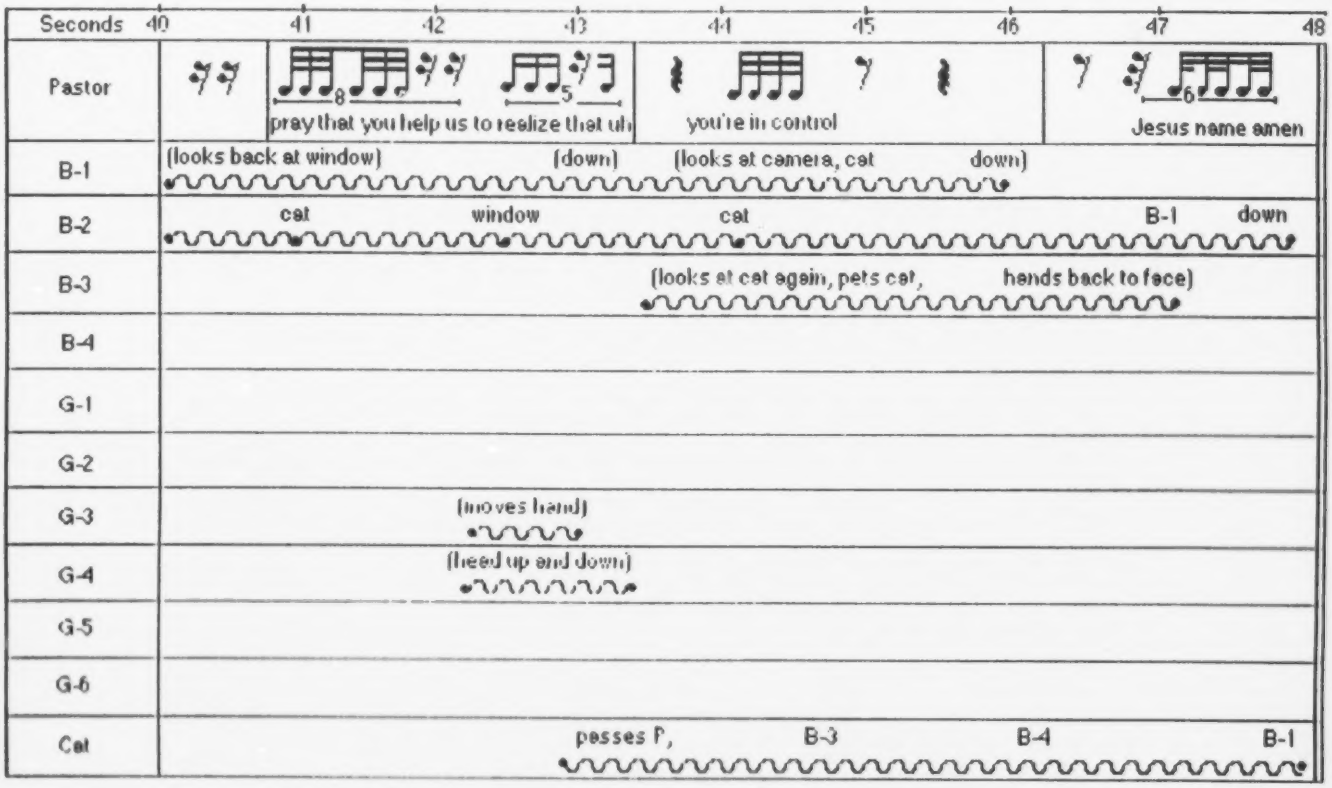
Seconds	00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07
Pastor	Thank you for loving us		in spite all these		terrible things		I guess whats so	whats so great about
B-1	(hand to face to knee)				(cough)			
B-2								
B-3								
B-4								
G-1								
G-2								(head up)
G-3							(head up)	
G-4							(head down)	
G-5								
G-6								
Cat								

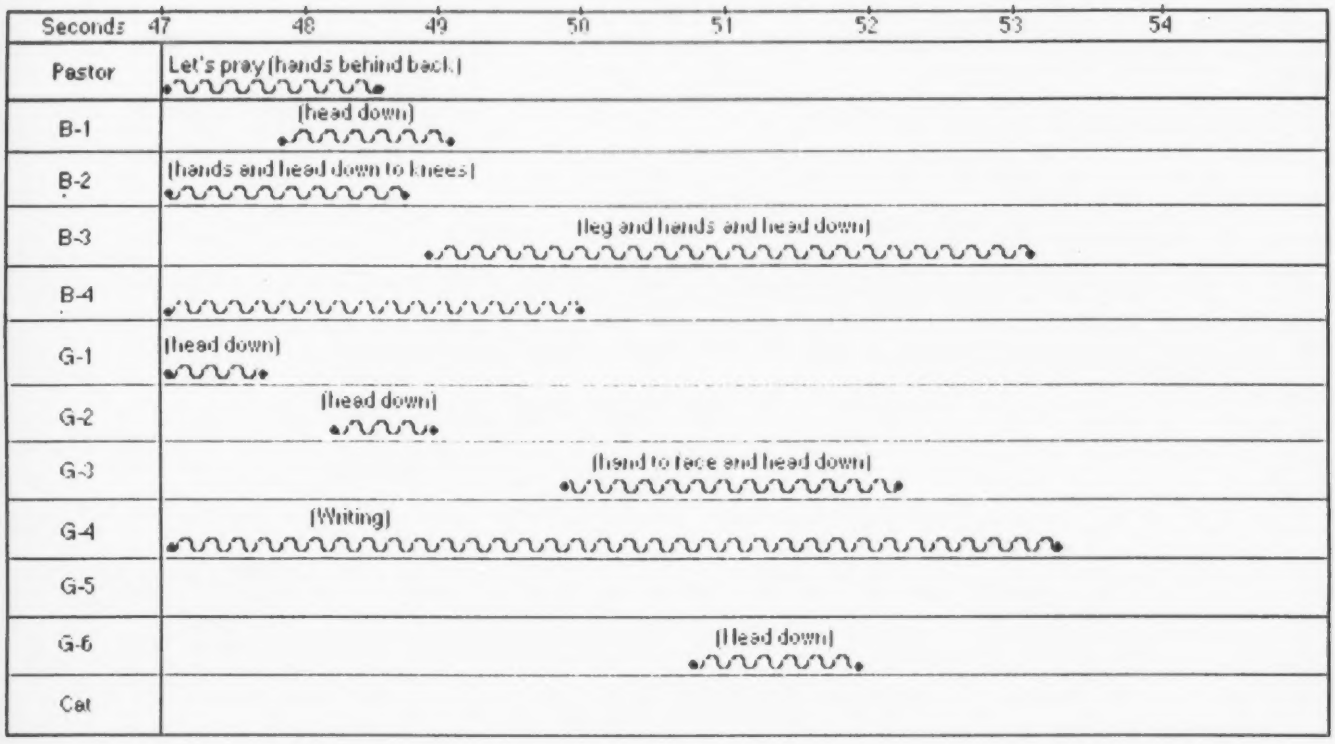
Seconds	08	09	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
Pastor	you is that		even though these		we can see your love		sounds ridiculous I know		lot of us here
B-1									
B-2									
B-3		(hands)							
B-4							(raises hand slightly)		
G-1									
G-2	(hand to face)								(sees cat)
G-3									
G-4									
G-5									
G-6									
Cat							(enters screen passes B-4)		

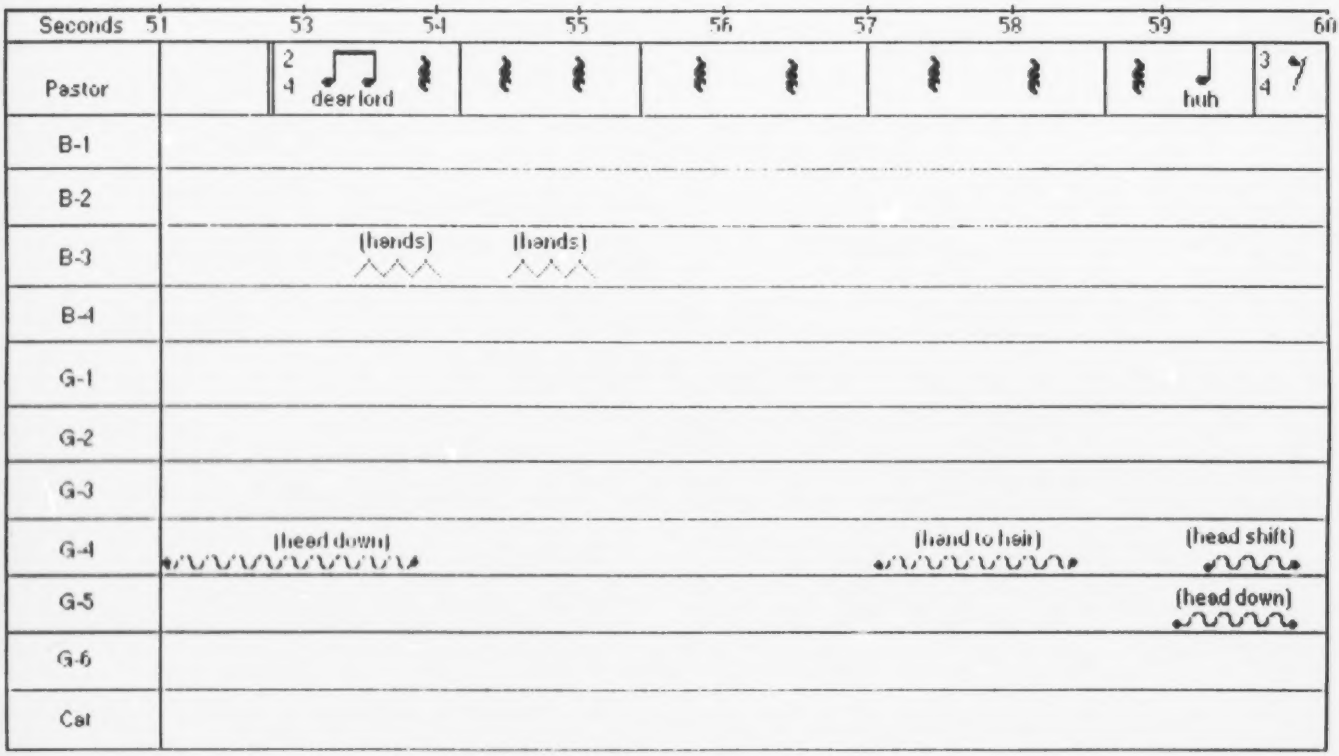

Seconds 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24
Pastor
prob-ly think that way
and yet help us to trust you
and help us to wait
a little longer
B-1
B-2
B-3
B-4
G-1
G-2
(watches cat as it goes in front of B-4, B-3, B-2 and B-1
G-3
G-4
G-5
G-6
(head up and down)
Cat
(passes B-4)
(passes B-3)
(passes B-2)


Seconds 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32
Pastor
to see your providence
to see your working out
and help us
to see that
3
4
B-1
B-2
(wiggles)
B-3
B-4
G-1
G-2
G-3
G-4
G-5
G-6
Cat
(passes B-1)
(off screen)


Seconds 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40
Pastor
even though things look
bad at this point
ten
even things look bad at this point
B-1
(looks up sees cat looks at B-2 moves hand)
B-2
(wiggles
sees cat reacts
looks behind at G-2)
B-3
(hands up to face)
(looks at B-2 pastor cat down)
B-4
G-1
(head raises slightly)
G-2
(moves head
laughs
head down)
G-3
G-4
(moves head)
(looks in direction of B-1)
G-5
G-6
(head up)
Cat
(passes B-2 B-3 passes in front of P)
(off screen)


Seconds 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48
Pastor
pray that you help us to realize that uh
you're in control
Jesus name amen
B-1
(looks back at window)
(down)
(looks at camera, cat
down)
B-2
cat
window
cat
B-1
down
B-3
(looks at cat again, pets cat,
hands back to face)
B-4
G-1
G-2
G-3
(moves hand)
G-4
(head up and down)
G-5
G-6
Cat
passes P,
B-3
B-4
B-1


Seconds 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54
Pastor
Let's pray (hands behind back.)
B-1
(head down)
B-2
(hands and head down to knees)
B-3
(leg and hands and head down)
B-4
G-1
(head down)
G-2
(head down)
G-3
(hand to face and head down)
G-4
(Writing)
G-5
G-6
(Head down)
Cat


Seconds 51 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60
Pastor
2/4
dear lord
huh
3/4
B-1
B-2
B-3
(hands)
(hands)
B-4
G-1
G-2
G-3
G-4
(head down)
(hand to hair)
(head shift)
G-5
(head down)
G-6
Cat

The compelling influence of nonlinguistic aims in language status policy planning in Puerto Rico

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On April 5, 1991, Spanish was made the sole official language of Puerto Rico, a move which replaced the 1902 Official Languages Act, which had put English and Spanish on an equal footing on the island, in name if not in practice. This paper analyzes this language status policy decision in terms of both its linguistic and extralinguistic purposes and implications. The new law is placed in the context of the political status of the island.

Introduction

On April 5, 1991, Governor Rafael Hernández Colón of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico signed into law a bill making Spanish the sole official language of the island. The law was not so much an effort to officialize Spanish, but to de-officialize English by replacing the 1902 Official Languages Act which had put both languages on an equal footing on the island, in name if not in practice.

This language status policy decision did not occur in a political vacuum, and it cannot be analyzed without reference to the issue of the political status of the island. In 1988, Hernández Colón called on the United States Congress to allow a plebiscite to decide the matter. The people of Puerto Rico would choose their future as the 51st state, an independent nation, or an "enhanced" commonwealth. As Garvin has noted, an endoglossic official language can be characterized by a strong separatist function, which "can be viewed as the linguistic ingredient in the current world-wide tendency to establish a separate cultural (and political) identity." In this case, the reaffirmation of Spanish as the language of Puerto Rico, or the de-officialization of English, depending upon one's point of view, was directly tied to a move to block statehood (1974:76).

This paper will attempt to analyze this status policy decision in terms of both its linguistic and extralinguistic purposes and implications. It is necessary, however, to establish first what is meant by status policy and by language planning as a whole.

Status Policy Planning

Perhaps the only point on which sociolinguists universally agree regarding the field of language planning is that a coherent theory has yet to be established. This can hardly be surprising given the inability to agree on certain essentials–such as a single, comprehensive definition of what it means to plan language. The issue has been framed in various ways, but a significant number of attempts has involved the addressing of language "problems" (Rubin & Jernudd, 1971:xvi; Jernudd & Das Gupta, 1971:211; Fishman, 1974:79; Karam, 1974:105; Weinstein, 1980:55; Neustupny 1983:2 [cited in Cooper, 1989:30-31]). Robert Cooper has offered one of the more compelling arguments against this view:

> Definitions of language planning as the solution of language problems are not wrong, but they are misleading. They deflect attention from the underlying motivation for language planning. Inasmuch as language planning is directed ultimately toward the attainment of nonlinguistic ends, it is preferable, in my opinion, to define language planning not as efforts to solve language problems but rather as efforts to influence language behavior (Cooper, 1989:35).

While many researchers such as Chaim Rabin (1971) have noted the importance of extra-linguistic aims, they have often framed their classifications in terms of corpus planning rather than status planning. Juan Cobarrubias (1983) explores the significance of this distinction, in terms of both research and ethical discourse, and finds that more exploration of the issues of status planning is needed.

Simply put, *status planning* refers to linguistic innovations as they relate to the allocation of language functions of a language or language variety in a given speech community, while *corpus planning* refers to linguistic innovations which relate to the structure of a language or language variety (Kloss, 1969 [cited in Cobarrubias, 1983:42]). Status planning frequently precedes corpus planning, necessitating changes in the corpus of a language in order for it to serve newly-prescribed functions. Cobarrubias specifically calls for research on the factors that produce innovations in the allocation of language functions, the extralinguistic variables which make it

possible or necessary for status planning to occur. We will return to this issue later in this paper.

Kloss (1968, cited in Cobarrubias, 1983:43) distinguishes four categories which relate to language status: (1) the origin of the language used officially with respect to the speech community; (2) the developmental status of a language; (3) the juridical status with respect to the speech community; and (4) the ratio of users of a language to the total population. This framework provides a useful tool for the analysis of the status of Spanish in Puerto Rico.

The Status of Spanish in Puerto Rico

Origin

The truly indigenous language of Puerto Rico is Taíno, which has long since been supplanted by Spanish. During the colonial era, indigenous peoples, Africans brought to the island as slaves, and Spanish landowners communicated in the language of their European overlords. Thus, Spanish may now be said to be the *endoglossic*, or indigenous language of the island.

In 1898, during the Spanish-American War, the United States took control of the island and instituted a policy of "Americanization" designed to lead the Puerto Rican people to democracy and eventual statehood. In 1902, the Official Languages Act made English and Spanish joint official languages; thus an *exoglossic*, or imported language held the same status as the indigenous language. (A brief outline of the political and language status history may be found in the Appendix.)

Up until 1949, there were seven different policies regarding English and Spanish instruction. The U.S. appointed Governors and their Secretaries of Education, in consultation with education experts at institutions such as Columbia University's Teachers College, tinkered with policy while they debated the best method of using bilingual education to create English speaking Puerto Ricans who could assume the rights of full democracy (Liebman, 1970:12-15). There was always an assumption that Puerto Rico hoped to become a state and should be helped to that end. President Franklin D. Roosevelt wrote in 1937:

> It is an indispensable part of American policy that the coming generation of American citizens in Puerto Rico grow up with a complete facility in the English tongue. It is the language of our Nation. Only through the acquisition of this language will Puerto Rican Americans secure a better understanding of American ideals and principles (Gutiérrez, 1987:105).

Criticism of Puerto Rican bilingualism and, by extension, biculturalism has been voiced for as long as the U.S. has held the island. Luis Muñoz Marín, Puerto Rico's first governor and architect of the current commonwealth status, was very vocal on the subject. He criticized bicultural Puerto Ricans as

> neither Puerto Ricans nor Americans, but merely puppets of a mongrel state of mind, susceptible to American thinking and proud of Latin thought...going to a singularly fantastic and painless hell...a foretaste of Pan Americanism (Gutiérrez, 1987:98).

He apparently did not include himself and his fellow leaders in this category, although they were bilingual and were educated abroad. Many interpret Muñoz Marín as actually favoring independence, although his rationale may have differed from that of many other *independentistas*. He described rule under Spain as benevolent. "Puerto Rico was a land of opportunity. Opportunity in a serene Spanish sense. Opportunity within classes...You didn't have much, and you could only want a little more" (Gutiérrez, 1987:98). In his third term as governor, he conceived Operation Serenity, a Puerto Rican cultural program, to balance the Americanizing effects of Operation Bootstrap, the industrialization program which he had enacted with the help of the U.S. Government (Gutiérrez, 1987:98,99). This elitist and paternalistic attitude has, to some degree, characterized both the language planning and political movements, as will be demonstrated later in this paper.

Developmental Status

Spanish is clearly a language of wider communication with a high degree of entrenchment. (Just how deeply entrenched it remains in Puerto Rico will be explored below.) According to Kloss's criteria, it is "a fully modernized, mature, standard language, through which modern scientific and technological knowledge can be imparted at both the secondary school and the college level" (Kloss, 1968 [cited in Cobarrubias, 1983:43]).

Nevertheless, in Puerto Rico it is not generally the language of scientific and technological knowledge. English-language textbooks are used in island universities, technical institutes and professional schools; English is the preferred medium of doctors, accountants, engineers, and scientists; it dominates the areas of business, finance, and technology (Vélez & Schweers, 1992:5). Many of the elite have

traditionally sent their children away from the island to universities in the United States, not to Latin America or Spain (Liebman, 1970:13).

Furthermore, there is a widely accepted perception that Puerto Rican Spanish is somehow deficient. The linguistic insecurity of speakers of Puerto Rican Spanish has been researched by Betancourt (1985), who studied the language attitudes of 104 high school teachers and students. The studies assessed such factors as the perceived social status of the students and teachers; student attitudes toward teachers as linguistic role models; attitudes about correctness and the tendency towards hypercorrection; and the prestige of language varieties spoken by various social, occupational, and national groups, including the subjects' own. The survey found the subjects to be generally insecure, particularly at the lexical level of language structure. All but two subjects placed themselves in the middle class, and all had had exposure to other speech styles. They generally thought that Puerto Rican Spanish needed improvement, particularly in vocabulary. Although they considered that the language should be improved by some authority, they could not determine the source of that authority. Most subjects also expressed a feeling that there was something wrong with Puerto Rican Spanish, but they could not pinpoint it or suggest a remedy. Most felt that their own pronunciation was flawed in ways similar to those expressed in the stereotypes.

Many Puerto Rican intellectuals perceive English and Spanish in an adversarial relationship in which Spanish is devalued due to the instrumental value assigned to English. Garvin has noted that the separatist function of an endoglossic language and the participatory function of an exoglossic language, which may facilitate worldwide communication, are in conflict. The participatory function predominates in the technological realm for practical reasons, but when the need for cultural self-expression and the search for cultural identity take the foreground, the separatist function will predominate (1974:76-77).

Hence, the stance of the intellectuals. They argue that this has resulted in an inhibition against learning Spanish, a failure to master English (since it is the culprit that devalues Spanish), with the result that many Puerto Ricans are unable to speak either language well. There has been no linguistic research to validate this claim, and in fact, many have dismissed claims of the deterioration of Spanish, while acknowledging the increasing presence of English loan words in the Puerto Rican lexicon (Rúa, 1987, 1988; Meyn, 1981, 1988 [cited in Vélez & Schweers, 1992:6]).

The bill to make Spanish the sole official language was taken up by intellectuals who defined Puerto Ricanness almost exclusively as Hispanicity. They

cited early U.S. policies of Americanization and enforced use of English in the schools and courts, arguing that the greater autonomy gained in 1948, which was quickly followed by local efforts to mitigate the effects of Americanization, was not enough to alleviate the inferiority complex in the Puerto Rican psyche. The establishment in the 1950s of the Academia Puertorriqueña de la Lengua Española and the Instituto de Cultura Puertorriqueña were not insignificant, but nor were they sufficient (Vélez & Schweers, 1992:4). A policy of Spanish as sole official language would be a step in the right direction, and would militate against the imposition of English in the future, a not insignificant possibility given the rise of the English Only movement in the United States and the prospect of Puerto Rican statehood. Spokespeople for the National Action for the Defense of the Mother Tongue such as Pedro Juan Rúa voiced these opinions during the Puerto Rican House of Representatives debates on the issue. The President of the Puerto Rico Intellectuals Committee, Awilda Palau, agreed that passage of the measure would send the U.S. Congress a clear message that Puerto Rico is a Spanish-speaking country and would make it easier for advocates of statehood to negotiate the island's political future. Her openly militant *independentista* stance caused some to view this argument cynically, however (Medina, 1990, August 31:3).

Juridical Status

Juridical status is essentially the issue of status policy planning, as it is characterized mainly according to governmental attitudes toward usage (Cobarrubias, 1983:48). The government's role in the debate over the Spanish as Official Language bill was characterized by extralinguistic considerations, as is arguably typical in issues of this nature. Cobarrubias points out that the ethical criteria which govern such decisions "seem to depend upon certain ideologies the group in control wishes to endorse. Language-status planning is ultimately contingent upon such ideologies" (1983:41). Cooper elaborates on this issue:

> Language planning is typically carried out for the attainment of nonlinguistic ends such as consumer protection, scientific exchange, national integration, political control, economic development, the creation of new elites or the maintenance of old ones, the pacification or cooption of minority groups, and mass mobilization of national or political movements. In any war, one uses all the ammunition at hand. If the modification of a language, or its use, or the promotion of its acquisition is perceived as ammunition, such ammunition is likely to be fired (Cooper, 1989:35).

There has been little denial on the part of any of the players involved that the question of official language is significantly one of politics. The first sentence of the bill clearly frames the issue in terms of the political status of the island: "In this hour of our history...when we aspire to define our destiny, it becomes necessary to categorically reaffirm that Spanish is the language of Puerto Ricans" (Medina, 1991, March 28:3). Clearly, it is crucial to an understanding of the debate over language status to have a grounding in the debate over political status.

Political Status

Since the United States took control of Puerto Rico in 1898 there have been widely disparate views over the issue of sovereignty. While an analysis of this history is not in the purview of this study, it is important to understand the current situation.

In 1967, two years after the decision to use Spanish in the judicial system in Puerto Rico, a plebiscite was held in which Puerto Ricans chose to remain a commonwealth. Of the population, 60.4% favored continued commonwealth status, 38.9% favored statehood, and .06% voted for independence (Pear, 1990:A-1), although it should be mentioned that *independentistas* called for a boycott of the plebiscite and it is possible that those *independentistas* who did vote viewed commonwealth as preferable to statehood (Weisman, 1990:32).

The issue has continued to dominate Puerto Rican politics to the point where the three major parties define themselves essentially on their stance toward political status. When he was elected governor by a narrow margin in 1988, Rafael Hernández Colón, president of the pro-commonwealth Popular Democratic Party (PDP), called for a new plebiscite. During the negotiations with the United States Congress over what the three options of the plebiscite would actually mean, Hernández Colón called for "enhanced commonwealth status," meaning that the local government would share full dual sovereignty. This has been rejected out of hand as an oxymoron. According to the United States Constitution, Congress has power over all territories not incorporated as states.

The other significant party, in terms of numbers, is the New Progressive Party (NPP), which calls for full statehood, with full cultural duality. Its leaders want to permanently link Puerto Rico to its wealthy neighbor, even if it means the loss of the island's current economic benefits. They argue that the full rights of democracy are worth the potential hardships. While the PDP calls this ridiculous, claiming that the United States would never accept *un estado jíbaro*, a hillbilly or hick state, NPP

leaders find no problem with this, freely making the case that Statehood is for the Poor, as former governor and party president Romero Barceló entitled his book on the subject (McAllister, 1990, December 27:A-1).

The third and least popular party is the Puerto Rican Independence Party (PIP), estimated to represent between five and eight percent of the electorate (Vélez & Schweers, 1992:9). Primarily a party of intellectuals, it recognizes no distinction between commonwealth and colony, citing U.S. policies which have been destructive to the distinct culture of Puerto Rico as an indication that independence is the only viable option. Its leaders, such as its president Rubén Berríos Martínez, a graduate of Georgetown University, Yale Law School, and Oxford University, claim that Puerto Rico's Latin American neighbors find the current status abhorrent, and would find statehood a travesty, a "gobbling up" of one of their own. Currently, *independentistas* are dissenters. If Puerto Rico were to become a state, they would become seditionists, traitors. Berríos Martínez negotiated a generous independence option from the U.S. Congress involving a gradual weaning from its current subsidies over a ten-year period (Weisman, 1990:40).

Many argue that the real issue of status is not political or cultural but economic. Currently the island has a standard of living far above that of any Caribbean or Latin American nation. Manufacturing accounts for 40% of its output while agricultural production accounts for only 1.5%, far below the level of most islands in the tropics. The gross national product was $19.2 billion in 1988, at least partly because subsidiaries of American businesses in Puerto Rico have unrestricted access to American markets, yet pay no federal taxes on profits under Section 936 of the U.S. Internal Revenue Code. Currently almost one third of the Fortune 500 companies have operations in Puerto Rico, creating more than 150,000 jobs. Nevertheless, the per capita income in 1989 was $5,733, compared to the United States average of $17,596. Unemployment was 14.6%, compared to a U.S. national average of 5.3%, with the highest unemployment rate, West Virginia's, at 8.6%. Only 39.6% of people over the age of 24 have high school diplomas. If Puerto Rico were a state, it would rank lowest, behind Kentucky at 53.1%. (All figures from Pear, 1990:A-1)

With statehood would have to come the elimination of the tax advantages under Section 936, which, according to Hernández Colón, would take away "the engine that keeps our economy running." His estimate is that more than 600 industries would depart leaving Puerto Rico "a tropical South Bronx" (McAllister, 1990, December 27:A-1). Currently almost one-half of Puerto Rico's residents receive federal aid, for a total of about $6.5 billion. If Puerto Rico were made a state, it would theoretically qualify for

about $3 billion more in aid, although some U.S. legislators have said that they would not accept a form of statehood which would cost the United States more than the current arrangement. Nevertheless, one of the NPP's arguments for statehood involves increased federal aid for the poor of Puerto Rico; the PDP counters that it would certainly need it with the increased unemployment. It has urged for enhanced commonwealth status to include continuing current tax policies, at least for a certain period of time, as well as increased aid. Fomento, Puerto Rico's economic development agency, has conducted studies which show that, even under the best of circumstances, it could take 50 years for Puerto Rico to catch up with Mississippi, currently the poorest state in the nation. "In other words, we do not have the money to join the country club and pay the monthly dues," says José R. González, branch manager of the First Boston Corp, and former Hernández Colón advisor. "Let's face it, the United States is a rich man's club" (McAllister, 1990, December 27:A-1).

While these considerations were being debated in Puerto Rico, the plebiscite issue was undergoing some difficulties in Washington, D.C. President George Bush, who favored statehood in the 1988 campaign and in his 1989 State of the Union address, tried to push the plebiscite legislation through the U.S. Congress. Jaime B. Fuster, Puerto Rico's Resident Commissioner in the U.S. House of Representatives, who has a voice but no vote, lobbied consistently for the House version of the bill, which passed unanimously. It called for a non-binding referendum and a procedure for Congress to consider the results, offer amendments, and send it back to Puerto Rico for a second referendum. The Senate plebiscite bill, however, called for one binding referendum, whose result would go into effect immediately. A second version of the bill included a five-year transition period.

Politics of Language Status

Senator J. Bennett Johnston (D-LA), Chair of the Energy and Natural Resources Committee, was the architect of the Senate plebiscite bill. In 1989, he advised the president of the pro-statehood NPP, former Governor Romero Barceló, not to push for bilingualism in statehood. "Why not be silent on the question? Let Puerto Rico be Puerto Rico. You don't want to risk this legislation on language." Supporters of statehood reluctantly agreed and opened themselves up to charges that they had turned their backs on their promise to defend Spanish at all costs. In 1989, when U.S. English urged the Senate committee to make English Puerto Rico's official language under statehood, Johnston rejected this also. Thus, neither the Senate nor the House bills on the plebiscite mentioned language in any way (Turner, 1990, August 30:2).

Nevertheless, language and political status have been inextricably tied from the outset.

When the PDP introduced the bill to make Spanish the sole official language into Puerto Rico's Congress, it was openly regarded as a bid to make the pro-statehood movement look bad before the plebiscite (Medina, 1990:14). Arguments regarding the need to maintain Spanish in a pure form, to stop the influence of English upon its lexicon and structure, frequently degenerated comically into the very mixture of Spanish and English being disparaged. Juan López Hernández, one of the bill's staunchest supporters, caught himself slipping unconsciously into an Americanism in the heat of the debate, shouting down his NPP opponent by claiming that he had "*el* floor." "*Hemiciclo!*" whispered a colleague, correcting him, to the smiles of the audience (Navarro, 1990:A-14).

Governor Hernández Colón, however, framed the issue as one of identity:

> You have to think of us as one of the most over-populated countries in the world. We have no natural resources, very little land for very many people. We have a cultural and a historical identity unlike any state. We're more like Costa Rica than Georgia. We are a Latin American people...one of the countries established by Spain. At the same time, we cherish our ties to the United States and we're irrevocably bound to the United States (McAllister, 1990, December 27:A-1).

The New Progressive Party's pro-statehood stance clearly dictates an adversarial stance on the "Spanish Only" law as they called it, a reference to the English Only movement in the United States. Nevertheless, it would be politically dangerous to advocate that Puerto Rico adhere to the United States' original plans and become English-speaking; in fact, the NPP has always claimed that statehood would have to involve a bicultural arrangement. As Carlos Romero Barceló snapped at a reporter,

> there is no such thing as surrendering Spanish. Am I to tell a mother she cannot sing a lullaby to her child in Spanish?...The nation does not need another state that speaks English. A state that speaks Spanish would help the nation (McAllister, 1990, December 27:A-1).

Luis A. Ferré, founder of the NPP and chair of the Puerto Rican Republican Committee, appealed for Governor Hernández Colón to veto the Spanish Only law, as it would contradict the Puerto Rican Constitution's preamble, which places the two cultures on equal footing (Hemlock, 1991, March 13:3). The elimination of English as

an official language could also be harmful for businesses and professionals. But the NPP's most strident argument against the bill was that since the issue was not the creation of a national language where there had been none, but the elimination of English, it would send the wrong message to Congress and the American people: that Puerto Rico wished to distance itself from its benefactor and would reject statehood. The plebiscite bill was foundering in Congress and did not need the added controversy that would result from a rejection of English.

The Puerto Rican Independence Party (PIP) was strongly in favor of making Spanish the sole official language, for reasons which must be clear: it views any step away from the United States as a step in the right direction, and this affirmation of Puerto Rican pride in its heritage and culture greatly appealed to the intellectuals which comprise the majority of the party. During the hearings on the bill, several university intellectuals testified to this effect, notably members of *Acción Nacional para la Defensa del Vernáculo*, one of whose purposes is to create awareness of the threat to Spanish posed by the English Only movement.

When it passed the Puerto Rican legislature, Senator Johnston called the Spanish Only law "a particularly clumsy thing to do." Many United States legislators felt it "slammed the door on the plebiscite" (Hemlock, 1991, Mary 16:16). Jaime Fuster described the law as a symbolic gesture intended to correct historic mistakes and inequities and not "in any way an anti-United States bill....[The bill] is not intended to defy, it is intended to clarify" (The San Juan Star, 1991, April 11:3). United States Representative Dick Schulze (R-PA) did not concur with this view and called for an end to Section 936 tax benefits. A spokesperson said most U.S. legislators interpret the law as Puerto Rico saying to the United States: "We don't need you, we don't need your language, but please leave 936 alone" (Turner, 1991, March 31:3). Fuster could only repeat to Congress the PDP line, that the "Spanish Only" law would not have any practical effect, since most business and government affairs on the island are already conducted in Spanish and the bill explicitly states that English language education would not be affected. It was merely a symbolic affirmation of cultural identity.

Various public figures have contributed to charging the debate further. Justice Secretary Héctor Rivera Cruz endorsed the bill, recommending a referendum to give it constitutional status and to coincide with the Fifth Centennial as an act of "national justice" (Medina, 1991, February 7:12). One debate in the Puerto Rican House involved some lawmakers branding others "assimilationists," while others tried to end the debate in English (Medina, 1991, February 7:12). At the signing of the bill on April 5th, Senate President Miguel Hernández Agosto argued that, historically, the United

States has tried to supplant Spanish with English. "We can now say with legitimate pride that the attempt at the cultural coup d'état has failed." Resident Commissioner Jaime Fuster hastened to reassure islanders regarding his U.S. Congressional colleagues: "The bill is a symbolic measure that in no way affects the English language. To say it has provoked a climate in Congress against Puerto Rico is simply not true" (Suárez, 1991:14).

Ratio of Users of a Language to the Total Population

One of the most frequently cited arguments in favor of the Spanish as Official Language legislation is that it was, in fact, a purely symbolic gesture which would have no practical effect. For the most part, the workings of Puerto Rican government life have been conducted in Spanish for many years, and exceptions to the new law can be made, according to the language of the bill, whenever "convenient and necessary." It also provides for the teaching of English as a second language in the schools (The San Juan Star, 1991:2). Basically, according to the PDP, it would change nothing because Puerto Rico is de facto a Spanish speaking nation. According to figures cited by Governor Colón, 19% of the population speaks English with ease, 23% with difficulty, and 58% are unable to speak English (McAllister, 1990, December 27:A-1).

Thus we come to the fourth and, in certain ways, the most significant of Kloss's categories which relate to language planning: the ratio of the users of a language to the total population. While there is no clear demarcation of one statistical increment to the next, there is a correlation between this ratio and the status of a language. However, as Cobarrubias points out (1983:45), "numbers are not the only source of power; social organization and resources are also needed." As most of the island speaks Spanish, the issue is the number of people who speak English and their relative power in terms of social organization and economic attainment.

Ethoglossia

This cuts to the issue of what Cobarrubias calls *ethoglossia* (1983:52): the communicative character and strength of a language or variety. This is a result of several factors: the interaction of the functional distribution of a language and its *entrenchment*, which Cobarrubias views as the ratio and concentration of speakers of a language in conjunction with the historicity of its functions; whether or not its speakers choose to use it as a means of ethnic identity; and other factors such as the economic power and social organization of the speech community (54, 55). The ethoglossia of a language thus plays a significant role in language maintenance and

may influence status policy decisions or, at any rate, their acceptance by the public. Cobarrubias also suggests that a comparison of the ethoglossia of one speech community with another's gives insight into the nature of language conflict, particularly in multilingual settings where competitive relations are unresolved (53).

We have already examined the historicity of functions of both Spanish and English in Puerto Rico, but an ethnography of the various speech communities is beyond the scope of this paper. A brief background into the socio-economic and political relationships of certain groups may lend some insight, however.

Socio-economic Status

The 19% of the island who classify themselves as bilingual primarily comprise two poles on the socio-economic continuum: members of the socio-economic-intellectual elite, and predominantly lower socio-economic status returned migrants. The elite are usually the products of private preparatory schools which use English as the medium of instruction, many of whom attend university in the United States. They come from the traditional upper class of the Spanish colonial era and from the upwardly mobile middle class who have benefitted from industrialization in recent years. But their socio-economic class alone is insufficient to guarantee continued success in contemporary Puerto Rico; the political and economic relationship with the United States makes oral and written bilingualism essential for professionals (Vélez & Schweers, 1992:19).

The returned migrants, on the other hand, tend to come from the *jíbaro* or rural peasant class which found that industrialization did not bring the same benefits to all Puerto Ricans. The *jíbaros* are the descendants of native American Taínos, early Spanish settlers, and Africans brought to the island as slaves. Each group contributed to the culture and language variety of Puerto Rico's lower class (Vélez & Schweers, 1992:20). The bilingualism of this community has not generally been the path to advancement that it has been for the elite.

The 81% of Puerto Ricans who are essentially monolingual in Spanish is a varied group. They rely on the public and middle class private schools, where English instruction is apparently inadequate to provide any level of comfort with the language. The more fortunate local university graduates acquire sufficient English to fill middle-management positions. This is the vast majority of Puerto Ricans; studies and surveys have shown that they almost universally value bilingualism since they view English as the instrument which will offer them and their children economic mobility within the

class system that exists (Vélez & Schweers, 1992:22; Associated Press, 1991:8; Medina,1991, June 12:10).

This is what some intellectuals have called this the *supervalorization* of English, at the expense of Puerto Rico's cultural and linguistic identity. English has been said to be supervalorized due to its instrumental value on the island and internationally, while Spanish has been *devalorized* and may be viewed as nothing more than a home language to the upwardly mobile middle class. The de-officialization of English could at least guarantee the continued use of Spanish in areas under the jurisdiction of government: administration, schools, judicial system. The hope would be to not only promote its use as the vernacular, but to elevate its prestige and encourage Puerto Ricans to view their Hispanic heritage with greater pride (Vélez & Schweers, 1992:5).

Opponents of the Spanish as Official Language bill mounted a counterargument which cited the very fact that Puerto Rico continues to be primarily monolingually Spanish-speaking as evidence of the great level of entrenchment of Spanish and the cultural identity it represents. Spanish prevails despite all the colonial and more subtle influences exerted by the United States and the English language. Spanish-language media predominates and the great majority of proficient English speakers are equally proficient in Spanish. In addition, the high prestige of the English language is not specific to Puerto Rico and has little to do with its status as an official language. De-officializing English would therefore fail to address any attitudinal preferences or instrumental need for English, and would thus solve no problem, linguistic or otherwise (Vélez & Schweers, 1992:6).

Ethoglossia and Education

The ethoglossic character of English in Puerto Rico and the implications for education were at the center of some of the most virulent arguments over the official language issue. There was a fear that the government was moving toward cutting English instruction in the schools, which led to a public outcry over the potential loss of economic mobility and opportunity for children. While the elite, most of the politicians among them, could continue to send their children to private English-language schools, the middle class and *jíbaros* would be cut out of the opportunity structure. The bill was then amended to guarantee that English-language instruction on the island would not be affected, but the issue of class had been raised and letters to local newspapers continued to reflect concern. In the words of the author of one such letter, Raymond Matienzo,

> Certainly the question of English and bilingualism has been associated with the delicate concept of colonialism–a feeling which has always permeated the island's political thinking. And the United States has been accused of fostering it. Wrong.
>
> The real colonial powers in Puerto Rico are our local legislators and elite. Remember, the less educated the masses, the more tolerant they are of oppression.... Bilingualism must be reserved for the elite. No?...Perhaps it is nostalgia for Spain, the greatest colonizer of all times (Matienzo, 1990).

Public Debate

Of course, there were letters reflecting other points of view, but Vélez and Schweers (1992:2,16) have analyzed the coverage and commentary which appeared in the three major newspapers with an educated, upwardly mobile readership (El Nuevo Día, El Mundo [which ceased publication in December, 1990], and The San Juan Star, the English-language daily) and found two interesting patterns. While all three papers devoted a roughly comparable amount of reporting to the official language issue, and all opposed the bill editorially, seven and a half times more letters to the editor appeared in The San Juan Star than in either of the Spanish-language papers, while these published two and a half times more op-ed columns written by intellectuals and politicians. Vélez and Schweers have taken this to indicate that the two speech communities have different points of view regarding who has the right and responsibility to participate in public debate (1992:16).

Processes

Public debate and the decision-making process may be said to comprise the decision-making phase of the language planning process. Models of language planning processes such as Fishman's (1979) indicate that this is merely one step in a complicated and iterative activity. Briefly, Fishman identifies six activities which should be understood as simultaneous and cyclical rather than discrete: decision-making, codification, elaboration, implementation, evaluation, and iteration (ongoing fine-tuning) (12-18). The passage of the law itself and its signing in April, 1991 correspond to codification. But what of elaboration, implementation, evaluation, and iteration?

The law was not clearly elaborated because it was viewed as symbolic and flexible, vaguely referring to loopholes "whenever convenient or necessary." However, a number of difficulties have arisen which might have been anticipated and avoided.

For example, when a representative of the Federal Emergency Management Agency traveled to San Juan from Washington, D.C. to lease some building space at the former Miramar naval base, the Commonwealth General Services Administration refused to accept an English-language lease agreement. He was told that he would have to have the lease translated or else obtain a waiver from Governor Hernández Colón (Luquis, 1991, April 25:3). Engineers, architects, and other technicians have complained of serious difficulties; the Puerto Rican government is an important regulatory agency as well as contracting agent, yet many projects need federal approval to receive federal funds, and plans are frequently contracted by U.S.-based manufacturing firms with boards of directors who want documents in English. The Government Development Bank, the Economic Development Administration (Fomento) and its affiliate, the Puerto Rico Industrial Development Company (Pridco) have also appealed for and been denied permission to continue to issue their tax exemption and factory rental agreements in English when convenient for clients (Hemlock, April 27:3). Puerto Rican industrialists have told of taking visiting potential investors to a government agency where officials who spoke English well were now insisting on speaking only in Spanish (Maldonado, 1991, June 30:38).

All of this points to a failure not only of elaboration, but also of implementation. The government does not seem to have taken its own assurances to heart, but has instead implemented a law which in some ways is, as the NPP originally claimed, "Spanish Only." The implementation issue has been very complex, with ramifications for the other processes as the government has struggled to implement its plan in a centralized manner.

Tollefson distinguishes between two types of language planning processes, centralized and decentralized, distinguished by the "degree of local initiative involved in the formulation and implementation of a national plan and to the scope (local, regional, national) of the intended outcomes of the plan" (1981:176). More specifically, this analysis identifies three salient factors to distinguish the two types of planning: degree of coupling, degree of plan adaptation, and relative importance of macro- and micro-implementation perspectives.

Centralized language planning is characterized by a tightly coupled planning system between central and local authorities, a low degree of plan adaptation by local

officials, and macro-implementation where federal authorities develop strategies to influence local governments to effectively implement the plan. Decentralized language planning is evidenced by a loosely coupled planning system (i.e., more local control), a high degree of plan adaptation, and micro-implementation.

One of the difficulties of implementation in this case was the lack of cooperation on the part of local governments. On March 11, the San Juan Municipal Assembly voted to keep English on an equal footing for civic affairs, opposing "any movement within the U.S. mainland or insular jurisdictions aimed at designating a single official language for exclusive use for official business" (Hemlock, 1991, March 11:3) The bill was then rewritten to leave no loophole for municipalities. Later, within one hour of the bill's signing, 30 NPP mayors and NPP Senator Nicolás Nogueras filed a bill in the U.S. District Court challenging the constitutionality of the law and charging that it violates the Civil Rights Act of 1964; "inhibits and illegally and unconstitutionally restricts the rights, privileges and immunities of United States citizens in Puerto Rico"; "attempts to interfere" with the opportunities of students to learn English and with the rights of parents to control their children's education; and violates the equal-protection rights of non-Spanish speaking residents of Puerto Rico (Luquis, 1991, April 6:14). It seems that no consensus was reached as to whether this plan would be implemented in a centralized or a decentralized manner, which has fed the general dissatisfaction with the law.

In addition to this refusal to conform by local authorities, and perhaps in part because of it, there has been a proven lack of public support for the measure. On March 21, the new NPP president, Pedro Rosselló, called for a national referendum on the language policy, citing polls indicating that 85% of the Puerto Rican people were opposed. There was no chance it would be agreed to by the PDP legislature, but it was meant to show the people "that a bad decision had been made and that the bill is a political strategy related to the plebiscite" (Medina, 1991, March 21:3). A later poll found two out of three respondents rejecting the law, and 88% saying the language question should have been decided in a referendum (Medina, 1991, June 13:10).

The issue of elitism in the decision-making process is again inescapable. As Vélez and Schweers point out (1992:15), "this was not a grassroots movement based on a perceived problematic situation, but rather an issue proposed, defined, and fueled by a small but very influential sector of the population." And, as some had feared and others had hoped, the status plebiscite bill foundered in the U.S. Senate, although Republican senators suggested that Puerto Rico was free to hold its own referendum.

On December 8, 1991, the people of Puerto Rico finally had a chance to vote, in a non-binding referendum which had nothing to do with the U.S. Congress, on the issue of sovereignty. The ballot called for a yes or no vote on "the claim for Democratic Rights approved by the Legislature of Puerto Rico." The claim asserted the right of Puerto Ricans to choose their future political status without regard to the power of Congress over the island as a U.S. territory. It also demanded that any status, including independence, guarantee continued U.S. citizenship for Puerto Ricans, and declared unassailable the "culture, language and identity" of the Puerto Rican people (McAllister, 1991, December 7:A-21). Perhaps swayed by what the PDP called "scare tactics" regarding U.S. reaction to a "yes" vote, the public voted "no" by a margin of 53% to 44.9%, thus laying the groundwork for the NPP to call once again for statehood and a new plebiscite, perhaps from the governor's mansion, La Fortaleza (Friedman, 1991:3). A repeal of the law making Spanish the official language would be a likely step if another attempt to hold a plebiscite were made.

Conclusion

Valter Tauli has written that

> all kinds of diglossia are uneconomic and the aim of language policy should be to work for its elimination, but not by force....As in other LP [language planning] problems in diglossia, too, purely linguistic considerations may clash with social and other extralinguistic factors, which LP tactics must consider (1974:64).

Even if one were to accept as unadorned truth the claims of the Popular Democratic Party and the Puerto Rican Independence Party with regard to their language planning decision–that the Spanish language was in need of legislative support, that the measure was purely symbolic, that it was not a rejection of English and Puerto Rico's ties to the United States but a reaffirmation of cultural and linguistic pride–it would still be unimaginable that the extralinguistic issues outlined above would not need to be addressed.

In fact, it has been argued that this may not be a case of language planning at all since it involved so little in the way of careful study and reflection prior to the decision-making process (Vélez & Schweers, 1992:18). In addition, the insufficiencies of the elaboration and evaluation processes have been remarked upon above.

Nevertheless, a status policy decision was made which conforms neatly to Cobarrubias's observations on the subject: first, that the language planners in status policy decisions are generally politicians or statesmen with very little sociolinguistic background; and second that their decisions conform to the ideologies of the power elite or respond to the conflicting ideologies of other constituent groups (Cobarrubias, 1983:62). Thus, the decision in Puerto Rico to make Spanish the sole official language might be said to be a prototypical, although not ideal, case of status policy planning.

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Appendix

U.S./Puerto Rican Relations and Language Status since 1898

1898 Spanish-American War ends. Puerto Rico ceded to U.S. (PR useful in supply route to Panama Canal). U.S. forces welcomed on island. Military government established. Status undecided, but education specialists and other forces of "Americanization" arrive. Illiteracy rate ca. 80%; no public school buildings; 86% of children receive no education; no university. Poor public health system and infrastructure.

1900 Military government abolished under Foraker Act. Governor appointed by President.

1902 Official Languages Act establishes both English and Spanish as official. Viewed as practical measure, since governors and other U.S. officials spoke little or no Spanish. Part of move to peacefully transform Puerto Ricans into U.S. citizens. School instruction in English, with Spanish as ancillary.

1905 Puerto Rico's Supreme Court rules that the English language text of laws passed in Puerto Rico should prevail in the interpretation of said laws.

1917 Jones Act grants Puerto Ricans U.S. citizenship and right to vote for members of local legislature. Governor and Supreme Court justices still appointed.

Article 13 of Civil Code states that Spanish language text of laws will prevail in legal interpretation.

1948 Puerto Rico elects 1st governor: Luis Muñoz Marín. Puerto Ricans still cannot vote for President and Resident Commissioner in Washington, an elected Island representative to Congress, has a voice but no vote.

1949 Spanish established as language of instruction. English still taught, but status as ESL or EFL poorly defined.

1955 Establishment of Academia Puertorriqueña de la Lengua Española and the Instituto de Cultura Puertorriqueña.

1965 Puerto Rican Supreme Court rules that Puerto Rican courts must use Spanish in their judicial procedures (People of Puerto Rico vs. Superior Court).

1967 Plebiscite on status. 60.4% affirm commonwealth status, 38.9% vote for statehood, 0.6% vote for independence. Some say independentistas boycotted election, or voted commonwealth to avoid statehood.

1977 PDP and NPP go on record in favor of the use of Spanish in the US District Court.

1981 Senator Peña Clos pushes a requirement for private schools to teach in Spanish. Never given much consideration.

1986 Peña Clos presents bill to make Spanish the sole official language.

1987 Intellectuals form Acción Nacional para la Defensa del Vernáculo.

1989 April 16 commemorated at the behest of intellectuals as Día Nacional del Idioma Español.

US District Court drafts resolution that it cannot support the suggestion that Spanish be the language of the court. This is sent to the Senate committee negotiating the conditions for a status plebiscite.

Bill presented by Senator López Galarza and others to make Spanish the sole official language of Puerto Rico.[1]

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[1] Portions of this table are to be found in Vélez and Schweers 1992 paper, "A U.S. Colony at a Linguistic Crossroads: The Decision to Make Spanish the Official Language of Puerto Rico." The majority has been garnered from consultation of various histories and articles, including Gutiérrez (1987) and items in the The San Juan Star, the English language newspaper of Puerto Rico.